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partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN AND VICTORIAN INTERIORS,

1850 - 1890:

WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE

Thesis
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INTRODUCTION

The Morris-Butler House Museum, where I worked as a volunteer, provided the inspiration for this paper. The house, located at 1204 Park Avenue just north of downtown Indianapolis, is operated as a Victorian house museum by the Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana, Inc. Built for the John Morris family in 1864, the house was occupied by the Morris family until 1878. Noble Chase Butler purchased the property in 1881, with family members living in the home until 1958. Historic Landmarks Foundation, with the support of pharmaceutical magnate Eli Lilly, purchased the home in 1965 and began its restoration. Lilly helped amass an outstanding collection of Victorian furnishings and objects to decorate the home in a grand and elegant manner.

Working as both a docent and a collections assistant, I became concerned that the museum did not possess much information about the Morris and Butler families. I was also puzzled by the apparent discrepancies in what the museum exhibits today and what the house was probably like during the Morris and the Butler occupancies. I wanted to uncover additional information about the families and investigate the historical appearance of 1204 Park Avenue.

My interest in the Morris-Butler House related to my fascination with the "cult of domesticity" and the realm of women's roles during the Victorian era. I found the "ideal of womanhood" captivating because of its implications and its contradictions. I debated with myself, and discussed with others, how my two areas of interest might be combined into one topic. The result is an exploration of the relationship between middle-class women and household interiors during the period from 1850 to 1890.

I wanted the product developed not only to fulfill my academic requirement but also to be useful to the staff of the Morris-Butler House. Thus, I designed this study for two audiences; it contains some additional elements that if written only for academia might have been excluded. It is my hope that the Morris-Butler staff will be able to use this document for the training of docents, the development of new programs, and enhancement of the current interpretation.

The first two chapters will establish a general model of the relationship that existed between women and Victorian interiors. The final two chapters will deal specifically with the Morris and Butler families and their interiors at 1204 Park Avenue, in light of the general model. Chapter One discusses the roles of

middle-class Victorian women -- moral, social, and domestic -- and explores the development of the home as a domestic shrine. Chapter Two outlines some of the basic decorating styles and trends between 1850 and 1890. This chapter also provides a room-by-room analysis of how the interiors of typical Victorian homes relate to women's roles. I have chosen to analyze only the public rooms of the house as these are the rooms that best reflect domestic communication with the public realm.

Chapters Three and Four deal directly with the Morris-Butler House. Chapter Three outlines what is known about the Morris and Butler women and their families and examines what this information suggests about the roles of these women. Information here is sketchy, especially for the Morris women, and some of the conclusions are necessarily inferred from general information. Chapter Four explores what is known about the interiors of the house during the Morris and Butler occupancies and relates this information to the roles of the women. Chapter Four also includes some discussion about the current interpretation of the public rooms in the Morris-Butler House and how improvements might be made for the sake of accuracy. Appendices include floor plans of the home, rooms schedules, and a genealogical chart for each family.

If the Morris or Butler families had left their home and all of their family papers intact and given the key to Historic Landmarks Foundation for the purpose of operating a museum, researching this subject would have been a much easier task. Unfortunately, such was not the case. Almost all of the original furnishings of the house have been sold or divided among numerous heirs, making a complete or even a partial inventory impossible. The women of both families left behind few written documents. Several later photographs remain of the Butler women, none of the Morrises. Evidence about Indianapolis interiors during the years when these families occupied the house also proved illusive. Luckily, each of the families left behind one major body of evidence: the Morrises left the house originally built for their use; the Butler's left a substantial collection of papers, most generated by Noble Butler, now divided between the Indiana State Library and the Indiana Historical Society. I relied heavily on these two bodies of evidence for Chapters Three and Four.

There are several terms used throughout the paper that require definition. Interior decoration can be defined as the physical elements used to create the domestic realm: wall, floor and window treatments, furnishings, decorative objects, and accessories.

Separate spheres is a model of gender roles based on the belief that by nature of their differing physiological and emotional makeups men and women are suited to distinct roles: women to domestic roles and men to public roles.¹ This idea of separate spheres resulted in what is now referred to by historians as the Cult of Domesticity. Thousands of publications over the course of the nineteenth century asserted that women were uniquely suited to raise children, care for men, and devote time to domestic issues. This creation of a domestic shrine helped society justify and counteract the tremendous changes taking place in the public world.²

The final definition, middle-class, proves to be the most difficult, as the term is currently the subject of much debate and disagreement among scholars. For the purpose of my argument I have relied heavily on the recent work of Stuart M. Blumin. Blumin examines the arguments that both challenge and support the formation of a middle-class in America. There is not yet enough concrete research data to set specific criteria for membership in the middle-class, but Blumin suggests the shared experiences of work, consumption, residential location, association, and family organization are the aspects that need further exploration. Blumin concludes that although there is not currently sufficient evidence

to support the idea of a middle-class consciousness, there definitely was an emerging middle-class in the nineteenth century. Thus, I am proceeding on the assumption that the Morris and Butler families can be considered as members of the middle-class, even though they may have thought of themselves as approaching upper-class.³

There are a few other assumptions inherent in this document that should be clarified. I base my discussion of women's roles on the assumption that the doctrine of separate spheres was widely accepted in the nineteenth century. I also assume that prescriptive (advice) literature did have an effect on the everyday lives of people, if not by affecting reality then at least by creating a tension between the real and the ideal. Finally, I make the assumption that the women of the Morris and Butler families did play an important role in the choice and creation of interiors and decorative items for their households.

CHAPTER ONE

WHOLE 11 INTRODUCTION ENDNOTES 111 SHRINE

1. For my definition of interior decoration I am indebted to Gail Winkler, Godey's Lady's Book (Ph.D. dissertation., University of Wisconsin, 1988.)

2. See Nancy Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

3. Stuart M. Blumin, "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals," American Historical Review, 90 (1985): 299-338.

CHAPTER ONE

MIDDLE CLASS WOMEN AND THE DOMESTIC SHRINE

The division of household labor by gender has been a reality of social existence since well before industrialization. In the nineteenth century, however, the ramifications of an industrialized world deprived middle-class women of the economic identity and importance they possessed in colonial times. Although no dramatic turning point existed, women's lives gradually underwent incremental changes in the earliest years of the nineteenth century as the shift of production away from the home created conditions conducive to a separation of spheres. Men, leaving the home for the work place, became separated from domestic activities; increasingly isolating the toil of daily routines by sex.¹

This separation of spheres brought enshrined womanly roles and transformed the way society viewed the home. The deification of women, in a separate domestic sphere, served the purposes of a newly transformed society in many ways: it permitted a more complicated and morally troubled world to justify its actions by enshrining goodness and morality in the home; it allowed the perpetuation and growth of an industrial society by

elevating the role of women to the mothers and protectors of democracy; and it justified the production of goods and services by devoting one-half of the adult population to the task of consumption.²

By 1850, an industrialized society had given women a private realm -- "the home." Between 1850 and 1890, women's roles and the domestic realm underwent interrelated changes and began to assume parallel characteristics. Indeed, household interiors reflected, and even ritualized, the appropriate roles of women in myriad ways. What roles did women play during this time? How did the home come to be thought of as a domestic haven? How did house plans change to accommodate this new domestic ideal?

Although the role of women between 1850 and 1890 is multi-faceted, it can roughly be categorized as moral, social, and domestic. As industrialization brought an urban world, perceived as fraught with temptation and vice, it became a woman's duty to combat these images by providing an inviting and protective sanctuary within the home. This scenario would have been true in the rapidly expanding and industrializing city of Indianapolis. In the 1830s and 1840s, the town possessed a rural character. The coming of the railroad in 1847 made the capital city accessible to people and

businesses. Between 1850 and 1860, the population increased by 10,000 a jump of 130 percent. The Civil War caused a further mushrooming of population with the presence of troops and greatly increased manufacturing activity. For those who had become accustomed to the rural nature of Indianapolis, this tremendous growth must have been frightening and unfamiliar, providing ample justification for the creation of a protective moral retreat within the home.³

With the Second Great Awakening in the early decades of the nineteenth century, women began to play a more important part in religion and a larger role in the moral guidance of society. By mid-century, Protestantism had shifted its focus from the converted adult to the innocent child, placing greater importance on the moral education of children. Overseen by the mother, the spiritual education of children should begin at birth with tender minds, susceptible to impressions.⁴ As Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe remarked in their advice guide, published in 1869, "those who train immortal minds are to reap the fruit of their labor through eternal ages."⁵ The private dwelling became an important religious sanctuary and its contents crucial symbols and purveyors of religion -- the wife

and mother served as minister of her own private congregation.

Social duties reflected moral roles as women worked to improve society by tackling such issues as health, childrearing, temperance, and poverty often under the auspices of church groups like the Indianapolis Bible Society and the Indianapolis Benevolent Society. The influence gained through these reform efforts helped women to expand their role from the private to the public, justify their leisure time, and establish their husband's social status. Women also fulfilled their social roles through the proper expression of family values and cultural attainments. By properly educating their children, adhering to prescribed rules of behavior, doing good deeds for others, participating in social ceremonies and tastefully decorating her home, women could enhance, and even improve, their husbands and their familys' place in society.⁶

Moral and social roles converged with women's domestic roles to create the ideal of womanhood for the Victorian middle-class. Within the domestic role women served as wives, mothers, health-keepers, housekeepers, and decorators. It is the domestic roles of women, in combination with their moral duties, that brought women to a status near deification. As wives, women's roles

were clear: to keep the home happy and provide a loving atmosphere for their husbands and children. "On the wife, especially, devolves the privilege and pleasure of rendering home happy" proclaimed Sarah J. Hale in Manners; or Happy Homes and Good Society All the Year Round.⁷ This privilege and pleasure necessitated the possession of controlled passion, a submissive nature, and a sweet temper "like a flower that springs up in our pathway, reviving and cheering us".⁸ For only through man could a woman truly have an identity. The role of mother, according to Godey's Lady's Book, allowed women to fulfill their "moral destiny": providing the country's greatest asset (children) and perpetuating America's democratic society by raising them appropriately.⁹

But as idealistic as society painted the roles of wife and mother, the reality of administering to the needs of the family and fulfilling housekeeping duties was far from ideal. In the second-half of the nineteenth century, the maintenance of a household required much physical labor and could be exhausting. Laundering, ironing, baking, cooking, and cleaning proved to be endless chores, and when added to the duties of sewing, watching children, providing an appropriate home environment, and fulfilling social

duties, could be too much for even the most stout-hearted women. Although many middle-class families only had one servant, ideally a home would have two: a cook, and a general maid to help with cleaning, laundering, and childrearing duties. Advertisements placed in newspapers in Indianapolis most often call for "girls" to do "general housework" and "to take charge" of the kitchen. The most frequent requirement for potential applicants was that they be "good" and provide "references": many advertisers boasted that they did the laundry "out of house." In the 1870s, typical wages for domestic servants in Indianapolis were \$2.50 to \$4.00 per week. Even with this female help, which often was hard to come by, the duties and chores for the lady of the house might seem interminable. Yet in polite society, the difficult nature of housework did not enter conversation. Social dictates demanded that women maintain a proper home but did not acknowledge the hardships and contradictions of fulfilling this role.¹⁰

into Advice purveyors, contemporary literature and even the clergy delineated the roles of women -- wives, mothers, spiritual guides, keepers and decorators of the home -- yet did not admit to the dilemmas these dictates could cause. How do you fulfill your wifely duties, yet remain passionless? How do you educate your children

when you are not allowed an education? How do you maintain a busy, complicated household, yet appear to be a woman of leisure? These contradictions weighed heavily on many women causing frustration, anger, and even illness for some.

Both the prescriptive roles of women, and the contradictions of these roles, are evident in the physical surroundings of their sphere, their private realm -- the home. Victorians expended a great deal of time, energy, and money assuring that their household interiors communicated appropriate messages. How did decorating styles gain such importance? How did women choose objects and decorative treatments for their homes? How did interiors reflect societal changes? How were gender roles physically and semantically embodied in interior decoration? And what effect, if any, did the act of decorating have on women's influence in the public sphere? These questions will be explored to determine the relationship between women and household interiors.

By the mid-nineteenth century, members of the middle class were receiving a strong message from the prescriptive literature of the day: The home should be viewed as an insulated world of stability and nurture, designed to counteract the evils of society and ensure a

strong, democratic civilization. This message appeared in force due to several factors. Architecture began to come into its own as a profession and its practitioners searched for a message to legitimize their existence. By linking architecture to ethical, spiritual, and technological concerns, architects could justify their profession as appropriate to the social needs of the time. Concurrently, the new Protestant emphasis on the proper Christian upbringing of children provided impetus for the architects. This revisionist religious theory, first promoted by churches on the East Coast in the 1840s, placed importance on the household as a protected refuge, designed to strengthen its members and inculcate them with appropriate Christian values.¹¹

1840s In addition to these primary factors, three other developments added credibility to the construction of a domestic shrine. At mid-century, the population of the country increased at an explosive rate. Immigrants began flooding into the United States and into Indianapolis in search of opportunities, and Americans themselves moved, seeking the chance to improve their stations in life. This influx of immigrants and mobility of all citizens encouraged the idea of the home as a stable, democratizing institution in an ever-changing social system. Second, reform movements, such

as the temperance crusade and anti-slavery cause, began to revise their tactics -- moving from a concentration on individuals to an emphasis on the family as a means of reform. Finally, the economic transformation of society from home production to industrial production had jeopardized family ties. Society needed to shore-up these family ties.¹²

The parallel development of these factors combined to support the idea of the home as a private domestic world: a church, a school, a reform movement in itself -- the only institution that could successfully counterbalance the rapid transformation of society and promise the continuation of democracy. With the fulfillment of their traditional domestic roles women received a place at the top of this domestic shrine, communicating silent messages from their pulpits through the interiors and household routines of their homes.

The importance of the home environment became the dominant topic of domestic literature in the second half of the nineteenth century. Magazines, household advice books, etiquette manuals, architectural plan books, and interior decorating guides and local newspapers promoted "the family home." According to Clifford Clark, the fact that most middle-class Americans accepted the argument that their home made a personal and symbolic

statement about their family is demonstrated by the intensity of the debate and the existence of nineteenth-century documents and houses. This is not to suggest that all middle-class Americans attained the ideal promoted in the literature, but that they were aware of the ideal and used it as a measure to gauge their own successes and failures.¹³

The importance placed on the nineteenth-century home had several ramifications on domestic architecture. By mid-century, three styles had come to dominate new house construction -- Gothic, Greek Revival and Italianate -- all of which occurred regularly in Indianapolis. These styles accommodated the spiritual and moral arguments of the reformers by incorporating ecclesiastical elements, pure and democratic design principals and antecedents, and rural values and settings. "Moral" architecture, constructed by "moral" men would then contain a "moral" family.¹⁴ But if the exterior appearance of the house proclaimed the family's values and qualities, its interior had to extend and reinforce the family's character in even more dramatic ways.

As the economic transition in nineteenth-century America and the message of reformers clearly delineated roles and functions of family members, so too did

domestic floor plans begin to reflect these roles.¹⁵ The home began to assume the same divisions as society: public and private. The greater number of specialized rooms contained within the house, the more prominent the family was deemed in social circles. Each space occupied a zone, public or private, and a function, entertaining, dining, family gathering, and so on. These individualized and ritualized spaces, promoted by reformers and carefully planned by architects, reflected the ideal of the homes as a nurturing retreat. Each room had its moral or spiritual message to communicate, with each individual having his or her own space for spiritual refuge. Women, as rulers of this domestic shrine, held ultimate responsibility for ensuring the health and success of its occupants.

Once the proper home had been built or bought, in order to ensure the happiness of her family and the subsequent continuation of democracy, the first task of its mistress was to decorate its interior appropriately. That women should be responsible for the adornment of their homes became popularly accepted by mid-century. Women in Indianapolis had easy access to information about decorating trends from newspapers, trade circulars, advice books, and magazines that deluged them with hints on tasteful decoration and genteel living.

By 1860, advice purveyors aimed most messages directly at women. The regularity of information on interior decoration printed in such magazines as Godey's Lady's Book attests to this fact.¹⁶ Godey's editor, Sarah Josepha Hale, firmly supported the idea that a woman should devote as much time as necessary to her home's decoration as "nothing which will beautify or adorn it can be of trifling importance". Hale echoed the prevailing view of the time in asserting that character "is seen through small openings, and certainly it is as clearly displayed in the arrangements and adornments of a house as in any other way."¹⁷

How did women choose the appropriate decor for their households? Several factors defined the realm of choices within which items for interior decorating could be purchased. A family's economic condition exerted great influence over what furnishings; wall, floor, and window treatments; and decorative accoutrements could be purchased. Although the tremendous increase in industrial production by mid-century meant more affordable goods, furnishing and decorating a home still constituted a considerable expense. Wasteful and unwise expenditures of the middle-class wife proved to be a favorite recurring theme of nineteenth-century advice writers. But regardless of the lectures of Harriet

Beecher Stowe and others, middle-class women throughout the latter half of the century continued to expend substantial funds on interior decorating. The parlor, especially, consumed the family's decorating budget almost unmercifully.

With funds allocated for the purpose of decoration, the availability of goods further dictated women's choices. The ease of railroad transportation by 1860 and the development of related industries, not just in the East, but in the South and West, meant a wide selection of goods could be found by most women, especially in cities such as Indianapolis. By the end of the Civil War, supply began to exceed demand giving rise to competitive selling and the advertising industry.¹⁸ In 1870, Indianapolis boasted numerous manufacturers of household-related items and a host of retailers. (See Chart 1.) If local retailers could not provide the desired goods, the consumer had the option of placing orders with merchants as distant as New York and Philadelphia. Trade catalogs, magazines, word-of-mouth, and family travels all made distant merchants known. Shipping could be provided by one of the many express companies such as Adams or Hulls Express.

Chart 1
Indianapolis Merchants Selling Household-Related Items

	1861	1870	1880	1890
China/Glassware	2	7	5	10
Furniture	8	12	20	49
Carpets/Matting	4	3	4	8
Pictures/Frames	1	4	10	7
House-Furnishing Goods	-	5	7	5
Wallpaper/Shades	2	4	4	14
Upholsterers	-	5	3	4
Stoves/Tinware	9	13	16	23
Total	26	53	69	120

Source: Indianapolis City Directories,
1861, 1870, 1880, 1890.

Aside from the constraints of money and availability, literature heavily affected interior decorating choices. Women's magazines, such as Godey's, Peterson's, and The Atlantic, and etiquette manuals being produced by the dozens, defined the appropriateness of furnishings, treatments, and decorative objects for specific rooms and functions. Indeed this prescriptive literature, propounding the importance of home and imposing rigid rules for verbal and non-verbal communication, helped justify domestic consumerism. Although women did not necessarily follow the exact guidelines of advice purveyors, they do seem to have taken into consideration the standards, symbolic meanings, and social significance of their choices.¹⁹

The period from 1850 to 1890 saw many changes in daily life that greatly influenced interiors; this is, especially true of the years immediately following the Civil War. The prosperity experienced by northern cities such as Indianapolis during the war, the subsequent economic panic of the 1870s, industrial expansion, and increasingly complex consumerism, all influenced middle-class society. By the 1870s, the image of home as a protective retreat evolved to include an emphasis on comfort and artistic expression. Difficult financial times heightened an interest in personal items and increasing numbers of immigrants stimulated a need among the native-born middle class to provide decors reflective of their definition of Americanism. These influences resulted in rooms more eclectic than earlier styles, more reflective of personal characteristics and interests; artistically designed to express the quality of life of the inhabitants.²⁰

Women's changing status in society also affected interior decoration. Ready-made items such as clothing and soap flooded the market place following the Civil War, alleviating some of the more time-consuming tasks previously performed by women. This, along with the economic freedom to hire servants, created a limited

degree of leisure time for some women, which they utilized in the creation of personalized decors and hand-made objects. These items legitimized their leisure time, provided an avenue for self-expression, and helped combat the impersonal nature of mass production. The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 unleashed a flurry of interest in art and individual creativity that further strengthened the justification for creating beautiful decors.²¹

In both the mid-and late-Victorian periods, women and the literature they read assigned symbolic meanings to household interiors. Interior spaces, decorative treatments, and transient objects communicated personal associations, religious messages, and cultural ideals, enabling women to express their dictated roles silently. Not everyone recognized or was affected by these symbolic messages, but for most middle-class women the non-verbal meanings did exist.²²

As women reflected the values of society, society saw room decor as a reflection of woman. Not only did interiors of the mid-nineteenth century imitate female characteristics, but the language used to describe both women and interior objects and their effects was often one in the same. The "lace" at the windows "softened" the harshness of the room. The "curving" and

"ornamented" furniture designs provided a "delicate" and "genteel" influence to the decor. A "floral" carpet or wallpaper could create a "beautiful" or "peaceful" atmosphere. The calculated messages communicated by the home echoed the female ideal prescribed by society.²³

An industrializing society created ideal women and provided them with the guidelines and the products to physically express that ideal. As historian Barbara Welter has argued, prescriptive literature carefully manipulated women in an effort to convince them that the very foundation of society rested upon the maintenance of traditional female domestic roles. This manipulation is clearly evident in an editorial from Godey's (1864) that states the aim of the magazine was "to diffuse and make popular the simple but efficient lessons of home happiness and goodness" for "much is in the power of the mother and wives of our land to make happy families and thus ensure a happy nation."²⁴

Yet, in vesting women with power and virtue within the home, some historians argue that society also provided women with an avenue for expanding that power. Godey's and other communicators of advice clearly provided this avenue by discussing issues common to all women, encouraging women to exercise their freedom as consumers, and arguing that the sphere of women could be

naturally expanded into larger issues. Decorating and housekeeping became not the end, but the means for exerting female influence. As Hale claimed in her popular book Manners, the woman begins to exercise her precious influence at home, which then extends "from her family, to the city she inhabits, to the country where she dwells, to the very era in which she lives."²⁵ It is probable that positive roles associated with women, powerfully communicated in the interiors of their household domains, eventually justified greater opportunities for women.

The idealized vision of women promoted in literature may have been difficult to attain in reality, but it succeeded in giving meaning and purpose to the lives of middle-class women. The decoration of household interiors allowed women to express that meaning and purpose physically. This expression was especially evident in the public rooms of the home.

Painted Words: A Study of Women's

American, 1820-1880

1982), p. 100.

American, 1820-1880

10.

CHAPTER ONE ENDNOTES

1. This is a much reiterated theme among scholars of women's history. See, for example: Susan Strasser, Never Done: A History of American Housework (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 9; Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave (New York: Basic Books, 1983), pp. 42, 66; Catherine Clinton, The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), p. 19; Colleen McDannell, The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 7.

2. Strasser, Never Done, p. 181, 182; Clinton, The Other Civil War, p. 19; Cowan, The Ironies of Household Technology, p. 19; Karen Halttunen, Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 58, 59; Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1977), p. 8.

3. Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine, May 1854, p. 106.

3. Barbara Welter, Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976), p. 84; Frederick Doyle Kershner, A Social and Cultural History of Indianapolis, 1860-1940, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1950, pp. 1, 3, 49-54.

4. Harvey Green, The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), p. 45.

5. Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, The American Woman's Home (Hartford: Stowe-Day Foundation, 1975 reprint of the 1869 original), p. 19.

6. Winkler, Godey's Lady's Book, pp. 36, 37; McDannell, The Christian Home, p. 39; Kershner, Social and Cultural, pp. 22, 38.

7. Sarah J. Hale, Manners: or Happy Homes and Good Society All the Year Round (New York: Arno Press, 1972 reprint of the 1868 original), p. 316.

8. Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine, May, 1869, p.346.

9. Green, The Light of the Home, p. 29.
10. Kenneth L. Ames, "Material Culture as Non-Verbal Communication: A Historical Case Study," in Edith Mayo, American Material Culture: The Shape of Things Around Us (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1984), p. 34; Halttunen, Confidence Men, p. 106; Indianapolis News, 1870 - 1890.
11. Clifford E. Clark Jr., The American Family Home, 1800-1960 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), pp. 23-29.
12. Ibid., pp. 16, 38, 238.
13. Ibid., p. xiv.
14. McDannell, The Christian Home, p. 22.
15. Clark, The American Family Home, p. 40; McDannell, The Christian Home, p. 47.
16. Winkler, Godey's, p. 71.
17. Hale, Manners, p. 81.

18. Stephen Fox, The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984), p. 22.

19. Katherine C. Grier, Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors and Upholstery, 1850-1930 (Rochester, New York: Strong Museum, 1988), pp. 7,12; McDannell, The Christian Home, pp. 50, 134; Clark, The American Family Home, p. 59.

20. William Seale, The Tasteful Interlude: American Interiors through the Camera's Eye, 1860-1917 (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1981), p. 20; Clark, The American Family Home, pp. 103,104.

21. Clark, The American Family Home, pp. 104,106.

22. Grier, Culture and Comfort, p. 11; Colleen McDannell asserts in The Christian Home that Protestant homes typically developed more elaborate domestic religious rituals than Catholic homes. Protestants felt that people could make a space (home) sacred, whereas

Catholics felt God could only be found in a sacred space (church).

23. These feminine phrases are used repeatedly in advice manuals and Victorian literature. See for example: Furniture for the Victorian Home from A.J. Downing: Country Houses (1850) and J.C. Loudon: Encyclopedia (1833) (New York: American Life Foundation, 1968), pp. 40, 67, 68, 62, 18; Charles L. Eastlake, Hints on Household Taste (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1986 reprint of the 1878 version), p. 161; E.C. Gardner, Home Interiors (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Co., 1878), p. 111.

24. Welter, Dimity Convictions, p. 41; Godey's, February 1864, p. 198.

25. Winkler, Godey's, p. 76; Siegfried Giedion, Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1948), p. 514; Hale, Manners, p. 339; Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 200.

CHAPTER TWO

REFLECTIVE DECORATIONS

In order to understand how household interiors physically communicated women's roles, it is necessary to consider popular decorating styles from 1850 to 1890 and to understand how styles changed during this period. This chapter will briefly discuss styles from the mid-to late-Victorian periods utilizing two chronological periods: 1850 to 1870 and 1870 to 1890. These two time periods roughly mark the national change from the more formal Rococo and revival styles to the eclectic styles associated with the late Victorians. Stylistic trends do, however, overlap and decline at a variable rate moving from the East Coast to the West Coast. Conveniently, these are the stylistic periods interpreted by the Morris-Butler House: 1850 to 1870 on the first floor; 1870 to 1890 on the upper floors. Following the examination of styles, an analysis of Victorian public rooms will explore the relationship between domestic interiors and the role of women.

Decorative Styles

1850 to 1870

The historian of mechanization, Siegfried Giedion, said that "every period shapes life to its own image and drapes it in forms peculiar to itself."¹ This is certainly true of the Victorians who searched antiquity for styles and modes of living that would adequately reflect their changing ideals and social status, as well as complement new production techniques.

In the two decades from 1850 to 1870, a variety of styles that drew their inspiration from the past could be found in dealer showrooms and fashionable homes across the country. With factory production and improved transportation and communication systems, by 1850 regional styles in interior decor were rapidly being replaced by national decorating styles expressed in similar forms. This similarity of decors was especially true for middle and upper class families in the medium and large northern cities, with some geographical lag in the far West and the South. Factory production of furniture, cloth, wallpaper, and carpeting, and improved transport systems made these former decorating luxuries available to a wide range of consumers. Historical

styles, promoted by designers and decorators, ran rampant and stressed ornamentation and elaboration.²

By 1850, the Rococo style, based largely on Louis XV antecedents, had gained a foothold in many tasteful homes. It can safely be called the most prevalent style of these two decades although other French revival styles gained some popularity as well. Promoted in part by the work of architect Alexander Jackson Downing, the Rococo offered expensive and pretentious looking furniture to social aspirants. The decors influenced by the Rococo style demonstrated the cosmopolitan character of the owners, as well as the technological sophistication of an increasingly mechanized society. Characteristics of Rococo furniture include wood lamination, boldly carved ornamentation, cabriole legs, scroll feet, and "S" and "C" curves. Woods most often employed were rosewood, mahogany, and walnut. Consumers purchased furniture in suites, especially for the parlor, so that a harmonious and pleasing effect could be achieved.³

Rococo was the style most often carried out in entire room decors, but other styles could be utilized as well. Gothic, which first became popular in the 1830s and 1840s, continued to find use in architecture, furniture, and decorative elements. Although not often used in toto, homes might possess a Gothic room or a few

pieces of Gothic furniture.⁴ This style had ecclesiastical antecedents and was closely identified with the religious fervor that swept the country in the earliest decades of the nineteenth century. Identifying characteristics of Gothic furnishings include applied moldings, finials, pointed arches, and heraldic designs.

The Renaissance Revival style also had promoters. Yet another style based on antiquarian designs, Renaissance Revival became prominent in the 1860s. As in the Gothic, decorators rarely executed a Renaissance scheme throughout a house. Renaissance Revival is characterized by massiveness, deeply carved ornament, medallions, caryatids, and cabochon decoration.⁵ This style was most often confined to furniture and architectural embellishments, while decorative items, wall, and floor treatments followed general styles of the 1860s and later.

To complement the antiquarian furnishings popular in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, advice purveyors recommended discriminating use of color on floors and walls. An entire theory of colors developed purporting that colors should agree or at least "be selected so as to contrast harmoniously" with "some leading color" dominating the tone.⁶

The increase in the manufacture of carpeting and accompanying decrease in cost meant Victorians used carpeting in almost all middle-class homes, especially in the formal rooms of the house. Between 1850 and 1860, carpet production in America increased by 45 percent. In Indianapolis there were four carpet manufacturers and retailers by 1861 serving a population of just over 18,000.⁷

A Wilton, Brussels, or tapestry carpet might be used for the parlor, dining room, and library, as they cost the most and thus put a public face on the family's wealth. The more reasonably priced ingrain or Venetian carpeting might be used in halls, bedrooms, and stairways.⁸ The purchase of new carpets usually dictated that old carpeting be relegated to a less-conspicuous area of the house. Oil cloths, often utilized as floor coverings for kitchens, also enjoyed popularity in this period. Women regularly used grass matting for summer floor covering, removing wool carpets and rugs for cleaning and storage until fall. Some families left carpeting in place during the summer months yet still used the grass matting as a top layer. Wallpaper and curtains became standard decorating items by the second-half of the century.⁹

Curtains in the more formal rooms usually consisted of lace panels, draperies, lambrequins, and a valance. Owners often placed interior shutters or rolling blinds underneath the layers to prevent flies from entering at will. Curtain designs varied, depending on the style of the interior, but materials usually consisted of cotton, linen, wool, or silk. Wallpapers could be purchased in every imaginable color with scenic and statuary designs being especially popular along with Rococo floral patterns, imitation wood, stripes, S-and C-curves, and architectural designs.¹⁰

Moveable decorative objects provided the crowning touch to a tasteful decor. Here the ladies applied their skill to create samplers, pillows, doilies, paintings, floral arrangements, and craft items that often utilized natural elements such as leaves, flowers, and shells. Alice Butler's "beauty" of a centerpiece, as discussed on page 117, is surely an example of such a decorative craft. These objects, combined with purchased art, statuary, and ceramics, demonstrated the cultural attainments and aspirations of the household and, according to advice literature, provided educational stimulus for young minds.¹¹

Household services, such as light, heat, sewers, and water, remained primitive at mid-century. Gas became

available to many urban residents by the 1840s, although only the wealthiest individuals could afford gas lighting until the later decades of the century. In Indianapolis, gas service was first established by the Indianapolis Gas Light and Coke Company in 1851, but it did not prove successful at providing consistent service until three or four years later.¹² Oil lamps and candles continued to supplement gas lighting well into the twentieth century.

A combination of old and new technology can also be seen in heating systems. By the 1850s and 1860s, gravity air central heating systems began to appear in Indianapolis homes and other urban areas. These heating systems, however, supplemented fireplaces and stoves, combining progress with the tradition of the hearth.

Water systems followed the same pattern, as traditional cisterns were gradually supplemented and replaced by residential water service. The Indianapolis Water Company, organized in 1869, did not gain widespread use until the twentieth century. Victorians heralded these new services as technological progress, yet embraced them with varying degrees of doubt and skepticism due to the element of mystery they possessed.¹³

1870 to 1890

Manufacturing techniques and volume improved and increased, and by the 1870s, factories could produce interior decorating items to fill America's expanding needs. Historical styles such as Renaissance and French revivals continued to be popular. The sloppy workmanship that could accompany mass production did nothing to enhance the excessive ornamentation of the Rococo and Gothic styles and design reformers began to call for simplified decoration and eclectic designs. Charles Eastlake is perhaps the most influential of these reformers.

Eastlake's slim volume entitled Hints on Household Taste first reached American audiences in 1872 and found immediate success. A follower of William Morris and England's aesthetic movement, Eastlake provided Americans with a philosophy of interiors that stressed simplicity -- advocating that form should follow function. Eastlake asserted that "to fulfil the first and most essential principles of good design, every article of furniture should, at first glance, proclaim its real purpose." As most young married couples, according to Harper's Bazaar, had a copy of Hints and accepted its message as "gospel truth," we can assume that Victorians welcomed Eastlake's advice and took it to heart, even

though its expression may not have been exactly as Eastlake anticipated.¹⁴

The medieval designs advocated by Eastlake suited the new mass-production processes of furniture manufacturers who soon began pouring out furnishings dubbed "Eastlake." Some manufacturers interpreted Eastlake's message and design to suit their own purposes and the inferior forms produced bore little resemblance to Eastlake's intentions. It is ironic that the message of simplification, communicated by Eastlake and others, developed into a frenzy of ornamentation and display.

This frenzy of objects and textures came about, in part, as a direct reaction to mass-produced furniture. In an attempt to individualize standard room settings, arbiters of taste counseled Victorians to personalize their decor. The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 provided many inspirations for personalized touches that included works of art, Oriental motifs, and colonial designs. The exhibition resulted in a craze for artwork and for the unusual in home decor, with all objects consciously orchestrated to display the cultivation and worldliness of the homeowner and the progress of the nation. The effect on modern eyes is one of clutter, confusion, and incongruity. Edith Wharton, who condemned this mode of decoration in The Decoration of Houses

(1897), aptly describes the late Victorian interior as "crammed ... with curtains, lambrequins, jardinieres of artificial plants, wobbly velvet-covered tables littered with silver gew-gaws and festoons of lace on mantelpieces and dressing tables."¹⁵

Eclectic influences resulted in a hodge-podge of styles and designs. The furniture embraced under the Eastlake banner -- most often constructed of oak, walnut, or cherry -- displayed rectilinear lines, inlays and panels, leaf and geometric patterns, and incisings. Oriental influences produced Turkish furniture with thick upholstered surfaces and fringe. Bamboo and rattan furniture also became popular.¹⁶

Between 1870 and 1890, middle class Victorians employed varied patterns for wall, floor, doorway, and window treatments. Many designers advocated that walls be divided into three areas: a dado, a field, and a frieze. These three areas were each to be treated in a different manner of decoration. Diapered patterns (constantly repeated diamonds) gained popularity for both wallpaper and carpeting. With the Oriental influence came floor-length curtains, known as portieres, used in doorways. These became widely used in place of doors to divide rooms, reduce drafts, and provide an exotic flare. Upholstery, curtains, portieres, carpeting, and wallpaper

were each to be treated with different designs, adding to the visual complexity of the room.¹⁷

Objects played a key role in the decoration of late-Victorian rooms. "Art units" became an often-employed device in the 1870s and 1880s -- complete with art works, family memorabilia, oriental objects, natural curiosities, flowers, and a draped textile to tie the assemblage together.¹⁸ Very few items were spared drapery, as beribboned cloths covered pianos, mantels, tables, easels, shelves, and nearly any other surface that could support a textile.

Although still greeted with some suspicion, utility services became more pervasive in middle-class homes during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Many residential areas became fully-equipped with gas lighting, plumbing, water, and central heat. Sewer systems began to appear in urban areas. By 1880, however, only the major streets of Indianapolis had sewage service. Water in Indianapolis, of a generally unreliable quality, was often used for purposes such as water closets or lawn-watering. The Butler family, for example, used city water service only for sprinkling until 1895 when they started receiving the "spring, bath and closet" service. Although a general distrust of these services remained, improved technology provided

safer sewers and gas lighting and brought about a much wider use of these utilities.¹⁹

Room-by-Room Analysis

The typical middle-class Victorian home of the period from 1850 to 1890 possessed on its first floor an entrance hall, formal parlor, informal parlor, dining room, and on occasion, a library. Due to space limitations or economic constraints, many families combined the functions of the library and informal parlor. Because the floor plan of the Morris house provides only one room for these two functions, the library and informal parlor will be treated as one in this discussion. The public rooms could each be opened to friends and acquaintances as events and activities warranted. The kitchen will also be examined. Although it cannot be considered a public room in the strictest sense, the kitchen did have certain public functions, and as the room most often associated with domestic activities, it warrants discussion. An understanding of the decor, function, and common activities of each room will clarify how interiors both reflected and ritualized the roles of women.

Hall

The first public space encountered upon entering the typical Victorian house was the hall. Usually a long, narrow passage leading from the exterior door to the interior spaces of the house, the hall served as an intermediary space between the outside world and the domestic sanctum. The hall opened to the other public rooms of the house, provided access to back service areas, and contained the main staircase.²⁰

On a social level, the hall provided an appropriate reflection of the family and set the tone of the house, yet maintained a proper distance between the family and its social inferiors. On a functional level, the hall helped make the house healthy by providing fresh, circulating air. As Harriet Beecher Stowe asserted in 1865, having a hall "into which all the rooms open" necessarily preserved "a body of fresh air for the use of them all."²¹

The appearance of the hall had to impress visitors yet not be too comfortable. Those beneath the family in social status were made to wait in the hall -- servants ushered family friends and acquaintances of appropriate status into another room, usually the parlor. The hall decorations were to embellish, not outshine, adjoining public rooms such as the parlors, library, and dining

room. A.J. Downing suggested using cool and sober colors in the hall and simple decorations so that the "richer and livelier hues of other apartments will then be enhanced." Many heeded this advice until the late 1880s when more vibrant colors became popular.²²

Hallways of the 1850s and 1860s utilized contrasting but harmonious color schemes, painted or wallpapered walls, and painted or grained woodwork. By the 1870s and 1880s, wall treatments for hallways began to reflect the general trend toward the tripartite division advocated by Eastlake and others. Thus, the wall would consist of a lower dado, a field of paint or wallpaper, and a decorative frieze. Because of the amount of traffic in hallways, paint was more often recommended than wallpaper. In the latter decades of the century, the decorative ceiling became fashionable, using painted or stencilled designs, medallions, or patterned ceiling papers. Graining of woodwork generally lost popularity by 1880, replaced by painted or natural wood. Windows, placed in hallways to provide much-needed light, could be dressed in a variety of manners, but fabric shades appeared most often. On the floors might be encaustic tile, oilcloth, Venetian carpeting, or in the wealthier middle-class families, wool carpeting of the velvet or

tapestry varieties. In the summer, grass matting often bore the brunt of the hall's foot traffic.²³

Because the hall functioned as a waiting or processing area and not a living space, Victorians kept furnishings to a minimum. Usual components of hall decoration included a hallstand (consisting of an umbrella stand, coat and hat racks, mirror, and table or shelf), a table, a cardholder, and some seating accommodation such as a bench, a settee, or straight chairs. As Kenneth Ames has argued, each of these hall furnishings carried their own symbolic social significance, demonstrating the degree to which the family participated in the prevalent social processes, and the status they had managed to attain. A card receiver, paintings, vases, and a pier mirror composed the decorative objects of the space.²⁴ These hall furnishings reflected the desire of Victorians to separate the public from the private and mediate entry into social circles.

The calling process served as the major method of mediating and controlling access beyond the hall. In 1889, Mrs. Logan wrote about calling cards in The Home Manual, claiming that "these little representatives of ourselves have a very sensible reason for their existence." Giving and receiving calls fell to the women

of the house and most experts on etiquette addressed guidelines for calling specifically to ladies. Indeed, prime calling hours during the work day appear to have precluded participation by middle-class men. Wives often represented their silent partners with cards left in the card receiver.²⁵

The hall both reflected and ritualized women's roles. By regulating entry and decorating appropriately, the Victorian woman consciously communicated her roles to all those who entered: moral guardian of the family, conveyor of social status, protector of the domestic realm. Yet the hall also ritualized these roles of women. By providing a space, symbolic accoutrements, and elaborate guidelines, middle-class society created a ceremony primarily for women that institutionalized women's prescribed purpose. At the same time, women could control participants in the ceremony by deciding who could enter and exit from this intermediary space and thereby extend her reign from the domestic to the outside world.

green, narrow, and red pressed pine paneling

Parlor

²⁶alwa In most Victorian homes the formal parlor was located at the front of the house, adjacent to the hall. This public parlor was frequently the largest room in the

home. Common architectural elements included a fireplace, mantle, and windows, often a bay window.²⁶ The parlor displayed the most expensive and ostentatious decor in the house. Many reformers, such as Sarah J. Hale and Harriet Beecher Stowe, strongly opposed the waste of space and family resources spent on this formal room, feeling they could be better used for other purposes. The strength of the reform opposition, however, and the presence of photographic documentation support the idea that formal parlors could be found in most middle-class homes. The parlor provided an important intermediary space where the realm of the public and private could safely meet. It also allowed a growing middle-class the opportunity to showcase their participation in consumerism, thus advertising the level of success gained by the man of the house. Most formal parlors contained similar elements. Parlor-making appears to have been a learned activity, guided by stringent rules and complex motives and conventions.²⁷

PROV Green, maroon, and red proved to be the most popular colors for parlors from the 1850s to the turn of the century. A.J. Downing purported that the parlor should "always exhibit more beauty and elegance than any apartment in the house" with colors more "cheerful" and "gay" and furniture more rich and "delicate in design"

than in any other room.²⁸ This message from Downing and other architects and decorators reinforced the idea of the parlor as the focal point of both the house and the furnishing expenditures of the family.²⁹

Certain elements made up the universal, easily recognized parlor vocabulary. In 1855, according to Godey's Lady's Book, a well-appointed parlor included a carpeted floor, suite of furniture (sofa, four to six upholstered chairs, and a center table), cabinet or etagere, mantle, pier mirrors, chandelier, side lights, and decorative accessories such as figurines. Elaborate draperies, often hung over a refined bay window, also constituted part of the vocabulary and might include a shade or interior shutter, a lambrequin or valance, a lace undercurtain, and a pair of heavy curtains reaching from window to floor.³⁰

The vocabulary of the parlor, like much of the language of etiquette, came from the French. French antique designs, commonly expressed in the Rococo style, provided the most popular parlor furnishings until about 1870. The parlor furniture was arranged about the walls leaving the center free except for the center table. Due to the lightness and delicacy of the furniture it could be easily moved to accommodate the activity or entertainment of the moment.³¹

The piano was yet another crucial element of the parlor grouping. Indeed, A. J. Downing felt the piano to be "the universal accompaniment of the ... parlor in America."³² The piano not only served as an indicator of success but also provided a gathering point for family interaction and a device to communicate accomplishments to acquaintances.

On the piano, etagere, mantle, tables, and walls the woman placed personal and instructive objects, designed to display the culture and talents of the household and inspire intelligent inquiry and discourse. These objects ranged from the family Bible, accorded a special place of reverence on the center table, to handicrafts, picture albums, paintings, sculpture, a clock, and natural specimens.³³

The look of the parlor began to change around 1870 as comfort gained importance and manufacturing techniques changed. A more informal room took the place of the formal parlor; a room where less posture-specific furnishings, such as the lounge and rocking chair, could now be found. As the piano gave way to the parlor organ, the idea of standardized rooms was replaced by the eclectic, individual look. Artistic expression and exotic designs gained favor, bringing with them portieres, comfortable upholstery, and artistic tableaux

and drapery. The parlor still continued, however, to maintain its importance as a space for social ceremony and a showcase of family culture. Indeed, the presence of portieres enhanced the idea of the parlor as a stage for the genteel performance.³⁴ But the changes taking place in the parlor, echoing the changes in society, ultimately brought about the demise of the formal parlor by the early twentieth century.

Because Victorians generally used the formal parlor only for social occasions, the family's use of the room was restricted; an informal parlor could be found elsewhere in the house for the daily use of the household members. The parlor enjoyed such special uses as teas, entertainments, games, singing, courting, meetings, dances, weddings, and funerals.³⁵ The parlor served as a stage for social interaction of which the most universal was the calling ritual.

Historian Karen Halttunen has called the parlor a theatrical setting for the "genteel performance," and the elaborate rules governing conduct in the parlor certainly resemble a script to be well-rehearsed. The dictates of movement, carriage, conversation, and length of visit prescribed the type of activity and interaction that could occur in the parlor. By adhering to these laws of acquaintanceship, tact, and social geography, as

Halttunen calls them, members of the middle-class could ensure their own claims to respectability and thwart the claims of those unworthy of membership.³⁶

Historians do not dispute the fact that in the parlor, the lady of the house reigned supreme -- responsible for communicating the appropriate messages through her decoration and deportment.³⁷ It is in the parlor, perhaps, that the roles of women were most reflected and ritualized. The parlor was permeated with symbols that mirror both the reality and the ideal of women's roles.

Even in its physical appearance, the parlor possessed many of the characteristics associated with women. Condemning the early parlors of this period, Eastlake proclaimed the furniture to be "essentially effeminate in form" as indeed it was with its curves, delicate carvings, and fragile nature.³⁸ Within the parlor could be found the household's most extensive use of textiles, historically associated with women, often layered and draped to resemble the forms of women's clothing. Many of the terms used to describe parlor decorations were also used to describe the characteristics of women, such as "softening," "refined," "graceful," "elegant," "genteel," "delicate," "light," and "pure." In its visual effect, parlor decoration

physically transformed women's roles from the intangible to the tangible.³⁹

In the parlor, women put forth their best efforts to translate prescribed roles into reality. The moral role of females was especially pervasive in the parlor. The piano or parlor organ allowed women not only to demonstrate their musical talents but also to share their religious sentiments with family and friends by assembling groups around the piano for singing hymns. The Bible on the center table blatantly spoke of women's moral dedication and subsequently that of their families as well. This religious message was often supplemented with religious handicrafts and decorations, of which ladies' magazines published patterns by the dozens. The selection and arrangement of objects in and of themselves reflected the very nature of women and spoke of their success in serving as the priestesses of the family. Making music at the piano, creating and selecting artwork for display, adhering to appropriate behavior, and evoking educational messages through interior decoration were all suitable female activities appropriate for the spiritual nurture of the family.⁴⁰

Selecting and creating objects and treatments for the parlor allowed women to demonstrate their personality within prescribed limits and to display for society the

cultural attainment of their families. A neglected parlor, lacking in appropriate moral and social symbols, indicated to most a neglected household.⁴¹ Thus, a properly appointed parlor could almost be deemed a prerequisite for a woman's successful fulfillment of her moral, social, and domestic roles.

The parlor also provides a prime example of the contradictions that confronted Victorian women. In all its delicacy and refinement, the parlor was the physical embodiment of the pedestal placed under women as a podium from which to fulfill their prescribed obligations. But, fulfilling those obligations often constituted sacrifice and created frustration among Victorian women. While the ideal was a woman of leisure, with the time to devote to social rituals and the talent, energy, and intelligence to create an appropriate environment for her family, the reality was often the converse. Victorian women, with large households to oversee, children to raise, chores to be done, and only a modicum of education, had great difficulties living up to societal expectations. In the parlor, however, the mundane household world did not intrude. Children's cries should be ignored, talk of servant problems deemed impolite, and social time never sacrificed for household chores.⁴² As the formality of the parlor often contradicted the real needs and desires

of the family, so did it also represent the contradictions between the ideal and the real roles of women. By striving to attain the perfect parlor and to communicate the important messages dictated by society, women also strove to resemble the cultural myth by which their peers judged them.

In the ramifications of the parlor ideal, there can be found yet another contradiction for Victorian women. The parlor provided the most ritualized space in the Victorian home -- a space presided over by the woman and equipped with all of the visual clues necessary to cement and translate her dictated roles. But, at the same time, the parlor served as one of the few avenues through which a woman could exert her influence on the world outside of her domestic sphere.⁴³ Thus, the parlor not only ritualized women's roles but also provided a narrow window for expanding their influence in the public world.

Library/Family Parlor

Many interior designers viewed the library as an important component in any cultured household. The north or northwest side of the house was often the location of choice for the library or family parlor, as ample light could be obtained through large windows without the presence of harsh, bright sunlight. Plans for Victorian

houses regularly show libraries at the front of the house, opposite the formal parlor, or at the side of the house near a side or back entrance.⁴⁴

The informal parlor in Victorian households was usually located directly behind the formal parlor. Thus, this room, dedicated to the everyday requirements of the family, was often referred to as the "back parlor" or family sitting room. House plans show that the back parlor was commonly the same size as the formal parlor and frequently possessed access to the kitchen or service areas of the house. Pocket doors often could be found between the two parlors or between the library and its adjoining public room. These doors allowed for the expansion or contraction of useable space. Although the more pretentious middle-class and upper-middle-class home could boast a separate library and family parlor, many Victorian homes combined the functions of the two in the family parlor.⁴⁵

The tone set by the decoration of the library seems not to have changed greatly from 1850 to 1890. A. J. Downing recommended that the library be "quiet, and comparatively grave in colour" with the carpet selected to "accord with the severe and quiet tone." Eastlake later agreed that the decoration should be sober and the furniture "strong and solid." Deep purples, greens,

blues, and reds provided the most popular color variations, with dados and leather upholstery recommended as complementary decorative treatments. Furnishings might include a desk, bookcase(s), books, side chairs, a table, and a clock. Task lighting and a ceiling fixture provided light.⁴⁶

If the family combined the functions of a library and an informal parlor, they would bring together comfortable, less formal (and often unmatched) furniture, bookcase(s) and books, a desk, sewing worktable, and family memorabilia. The color scheme and treatments of the room might echo those of the formal parlor, yet contain less elaborate designs and materials. Colorful carpet might be used on the floor, but it would usually be of a lesser quality than that in the formal parlor -- perhaps Brussels or ingrain carpeting covered by straw matting in the summer months.⁴⁷

In prosperous middle-class families, it was in the less-formal family sitting room that many of the handicrafts produced by women could be found. "The seats and backs of chairs" could be "enriched by a skillful use of embroidery" proclaimed one author of decorative advice; and the advice seems to have been taken to heart. Chairs, sofas, rockers -- all required some decoration, from an embroidered cover or pillow, to a delicate

antimacassar to protect the upholstery from hair oil. Wall pockets, table-covers, and curtains for bookcases also provided projects for the industrious decorator. Carefully arranged bric-a-brac reflected interests and activities of the family and constituted an important element of the informal gathering space, creating the image of a family memory palace. In later decades of the century, portieres likely draped the doorways, adding drama to the division between rooms.⁴⁸

As a male retreat, the library served a variety of masculine purposes. The library represented male learning and business acumen and also served as an area to gather family members for instruction or counsel. Victorian men could sometimes be found retiring to the library after dinner as the women made their way to the parlor. Indeed, men would use the library to participate in certain activities, such as smoking, not allowed in the presence of women.⁴⁹

According to the etiquette manual, Habits of Good Society, the first rule of smoking was "never in the company of a lady," while later rules prevented smoking even in a room where "ladies may later be" or in a "public place where ladies might be." If smoking took place, then pundits recommended the men change clothes before again being in the company of ladies and "rinse

the mouth out and brush teeth if possible."⁵⁰ These elaborate rules for smoking demonstrate society's need to isolate and regulate activities by gender, protecting the domestic realm and its ruler from inappropriate influences.

The back parlor was shared by the entire family and activities in the room reflected the interests and needs of its various members. Reading, card playing, sewing, and lessons were commonplace. Family tea or even family meals could be served in the back parlor on occasion. Close family friends might be entertained in the less pretentious of the two parlors.⁵¹

The idea of a library demonstrates that even within the so-called domestic sphere there was a further separation of space and activities based on gender. The interiors of libraries, although often decorated by women, reflected socially prescribed masculine characteristics: "strong," "solid," "severe," "sober."⁵² This differentiation between masculine and feminine decor, and masculine and feminine space, served as a physical ritualization of separate spheres, even though the masculine elements could be found within the supposedly female realm.

The family parlor, like the formal parlor, was more a mirror of women's roles than men's. Separating the

family from formal social activity allowed women to fulfill their roles as protectors and nurturers. By decorating and embellishing the furniture and surfaces in the room, women transformed unremarkable items into beautiful and elegant objects thus providing an ennobling and uplifting atmosphere. Objects created by women and displayed in the family sitting room could also be organic materials, taken from nature to stimulate interest and provide instructive tools for their children.⁵³ In the act of decorating a family parlor, women could fulfill their moral roles, spiritually uplifting and instructive, as well as their domestic roles as wives and mothers.

Dining Room

A specialized room for the use of dining, unknown except in the wealthiest households in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, became a symbol of economic success for middle-class families of the nineteenth century. Architects recommended that the dining room be located on the north of the house in a secluded and subdued spot that would provide a tranquil atmosphere. Common features of the room included large windows, a fireplace, pocket doors, and access to the kitchen or a butler's pantry.⁵⁴

Although nearly as laden with conventions as the parlor, the dining room appears to have been quicker to follow the whims of fashion than other rooms in the household. The decor of the dining room usually employed rich cheerful colors, often similar to those in the parlor, such as blue, red, green, and yellow. The tripartite wall treatment of the 1870s and 1880s found special popularity in dining rooms. Decorators recommended Brussels or ingrain carpets for the floor, less expensive varieties than those recommended for the parlor since they needed frequent replacement. Until around 1870, many homes utilized a drugget or crumb cloth beneath the table to protect the carpeting from spills and soiling. Although these protective coverings passed from vogue in the later decades of the century, most families used a rug under the table, as opposed to wall-to-wall carpeting, so that it could be removed to facilitate housekeeping.⁵⁵

Victorians often hung elaborate curtains in the dining room, rivaling those of the parlor, with gilded cornices, lambrequins, inner curtains (also called glass curtains), and heavy draperies. In the later decades, however, the trend toward simpler window treatments brought less ornate draperies to the dining room. Curtains of the 1870s might consist of mere panels,

hooked to rings and hung on decorative rods. These panels could be accompanied by a lambrequin or valance but of a much plainer design than the earlier decades. These simpler curtains did not contain the excess material so popular at mid-century.⁵⁶

Because of the presence of food, keeping out flies proved to be a major problem in the dining room (as well as the kitchen). Wire screens were not commonly advertised or used in middle-class homes until the last two decades of the century. The fly problem necessitated the use of blinds and draperies, in combination with covered dishes and mesh coverings, to keep flies away from food.⁵⁷

When portieres became popular in the 1870s and 1880s, they often found their way into dining rooms, separating the room from other public rooms. Portieres were especially popular when used in conjunction with pocket doors. The material of the portiere was to complement the decor of both rooms from which it could be seen, meaning a different design on either side. Literature on decoration advised that fabric for portieres should enhance other fabrics and upholstery in the room, but never match.⁵⁸

The typical middle-class dining room possessed an expandable dining table, chairs, serving tables, a

sideboard, and a chandelier or hanging lamp. Until the last decades of the century, Victorians placed dining room chairs against the walls of the room when not in use. The sideboard served as an important device to communicate the wealth of the family. Usually located behind the chair of the mistress or master, it symbolized an orderly, efficient household. During the meal, with its display of food and the coordination of proper serving techniques by the servants, it represented a healthful and well-cared for household and smooth relationships with domestic help. At other times, the sideboard contained careful arrangements of cut-glass or silver, accompanied by careful placement of mirrors and lights to reflect the splendor and beauty of the possessions. Decorators considered paintings highly appropriate for the dining room. Earlier decades of the century favored the iconography of the hunt, representing men's ability to provide for their families, but by mid-century decorators looked upon these subjects as distasteful, and images of fruit and food or family portraits replaced them.⁵⁹

Victorians used the dining room not only for family meals but also for elaborate formal luncheons, dinners, and teas. Many middle-class families, especially those whose numbers were large, utilized the dining room for

other functions such as sewing, reading, writing, and schoolwork. This is especially true for those families that had a formal parlor, but may not have had a room specifically set aside as a family sitting room, as for example Godey's Mrs. Bowen, whose "sitting-room was also the dining room and family apartment."⁶⁰

Victorians ate heartily at almost every meal, using food as yet another visual expression of status and consumption. Family dinners provided rehearsals for formal affairs and an opportunity for children to practice their morals and manners, which could then be exhibited for company to legitimate the family's claim to gentility. Many givers of advice recommended that adults feed children who were unable to feed themselves prior to the family dinner, occasionally bringing them to the table to share dessert. Children generally joined the larger family group at about the age of five, although some middle-class families undoubtedly fed all of the children at the table, using the high chair to separate the infants bad manners from other diners.⁶¹

Formal entertainments, often not attended by children, could be quite elaborate, and etiquette manuals devoted page upon page to proper dining room procedures and deportment. Intricate rules had to be followed for place settings, serving, communicating with servants,

seating arrangements, conversation, and entering and exiting the room. According to one etiquette manual, a formal dinner might include courses of raw oysters (a popular beginning course), soup, fish, entrees, roast, game, salad with cheese and breads, sweet dishes and ices, fruit, bonbons, and finally, coffee served at the table or in the parlor, with men remaining or moving to the library to smoke. The menu of one representative formal luncheon in Indianapolis included five courses: 1) oysters in half shell, salted crackers; 2) oxtail soup, crackers; 3) lamb chops, coconut potatoes, french peas, olives, tomato preserves, hob rolls; 4) lobster and lettuce salad, cheese balls, crackers and; 5) frozen sultana pudding, macaroons, crystal ginger and coffee. For each course, the proper silverware, wine glasses and other necessary accouterments had to be present, with clean plates and a new wine provided for each course and the table cleared and brushed before dessert. Indeed the dining room proved to be one of the most ritualistic spaces in the middle-class home as Victorians made a concerted effort to stage entertainments representative of the income class above them.⁶²

The burden of assuring successful dining experiences, whether family or formal, fell squarely on the shoulders of the woman. Mrs. Logan claimed that "no

matter how exquisite china, glass, floral decorations, silver, and linen may be, if the hostess is a dull or awkward woman, the banquet [dinner party] will not be a success."⁶³ The woman not only had to select appropriate guests, menus, and decorations but also provide brilliant conversation, a pleasing appearance, and a well-trained staff. The male author of Habits for a Good Society asked why, when "we make our tables gorgeous" our wives should "be less attractive than all around them?"⁶⁴ Mrs. Logan cautioned the hostess to employ all her tact and knowledge to put guests at ease, letting "no accident" disturb her, even if her rarest china should be broken. Under no circumstances should a polite hostess have to speak with or correct her servants in the company of others. It is no wonder that Logan's etiquette manual claimed the dinner party "is certainly the one which most severely taxes ... the hostess."⁶⁵

The atmosphere of the dining room reflected women's appropriate roles in a variety of ways. Certainly, their ability to instruct their children in proper behavior in the dining room and enforce the conventions imposed by society helped them discharge their moral duties as educators and spiritual guides. By providing the proper dining environment and healthy nourishment, Victorian women ensured the well-being of their children, and

subsequently of democracy. Graced with an appropriate menu, table decorations, and atmosphere, the successful dinner party reflected women's roles in communicating their families' status and in insuring their claims to membership in the middle-class. By participating in the refined social forms prescribed by society for the dining room, women could both elevate their families and protect their own dignity.

The dining room also demonstrated the contradictions of women's roles. Guests expected women to produce elaborate multi-course dinners to prove their worth. Yet, women had to partake of these feasts while wearing restrictive clothing, complete with heavily weighted fabric and constricting corsets. The corset was so constricting that it caused women to breath costally (with primarily the chest moving). Many medical men thought this to be a biological difference as a man's respiration was abdominal. These restrictive styles were required in order to gain a husband and then to represent that husband's status in society. To partake of these multi-course dinners while maintaining a figure worthy of a corset was yet another challenge posed to women.⁶⁶

The intricate rules imposed upon the appearance of the dining room and the deportment of the diners provided a ceremonial quality to a normal biological function.

The elaborate props provided to the woman of the household, and the dictates given to her for utilizing those props, helped ritualize her roles -- moral, domestic, and social. But the dining room also allowed an arena for regulated interaction with those beyond the domestic sphere. Appropriate participation in the ceremonial rites of the dining room signified women's success in fulfilling those roles. This appearance of success, and interaction with the public sphere, allowed women to experiment with influence and power and strain the perimeters of their domestic sphere.

Kitchen

The typical Victorian kitchen was at the back of the house (or in the basement in some urban locations) where the sights and sounds of cooking were removed from family and guests. Kitchens needed to be large enough to accommodate daily routines, have a good source of light, plenty of ventilation to dissipate the heat of the stove and cooking smells, and easy access to fuel, water, pantry, and dining room.⁶⁷

Victorians kept the decor of kitchens simple and serviceable. To facilitate cleaning, the floors were generally painted or laid with an oilcloth. The walls were painted in a basic color, such as white or yellow.

Curtains at the window served a functional purpose -- to keep flies out. "Short blinds" of muslin, covering the bottom half of the window, found special popularity for the privacy they offered. Roller blinds, of paper or fabric, also could be used. After the introduction of wire screens in the later part of the century, housekeepers quickly utilized them in the kitchen to combat the problem of flies, while allowing fresh air to circulate.⁶⁸

Common furnishings of the kitchen included a dry sink, stove, at least two wooden tables (one for food service and one for food preparation), an ice box, a dresser, several wooden chairs, a comfortable rocking chair, and task lighting. In addition to these furnishings there were, of course, the pots, pans, utensils, dishes, brooms, brushes, pails, mops, and linens necessary to carry out the daily household routines. Two other items often found in the kitchen were the clock, to secure a regular family routine, and the bird in its cage for the amusement and diversion of the family.⁶⁹

The Victorian kitchen served a variety of functions, not the least of which was preparation of food. The kitchen also served as the headquarters for housekeeping functions within the home and as an occasional parlor in

which domestic help entertained their friends and acquaintances. Depending upon the level of involvement of the mistress with domestic routines, the kitchen might also have served as an informal gathering area for the family.

The romanticized idea of idle Victorian women, managing the household from their sitting rooms, with much free time to participate in charitable activities, was a fiction divorced from reality. Most middle-class families could afford one domestic servant, a general helper to assist with cooking, housekeeping, and child-rearing tasks. If able to engage a second servant, this would be a cook to prepare meals for the family and for special entertainments. More prosperous families might have a nurse, but one or two servants at the most was the norm. Female domestics were generally immigrants or African-Americans. Males could be engaged as seasonal help for spring and fall housekeeping or to do outdoor chores but generally did not constitute part of the regular staff of a Victorian household. Most middle-class Victorian women participated in some way in the routine domestic chores, including housekeeping and cooking.⁷⁰

Preparation of food occupied a major part of women's days and even with the help of domestics proved a

tiresome and endless task. Most middle-class women, or a designated member of the household, marketed daily or at least every other day. Food, whether fruits, vegetables, or meat, arrived at the home in an unprepared state. Vegetables had to be cleaned and peeled, fowl or fish often had to be plucked or scaled, or at least soaked, coffee ground, sugar pounded, nuts shelled, spices ground and sifted, puddings and jams made from scratch, and bread baked weekly or bi-weekly. Food could be stored for only short periods of time -- kept cool in an ice box or in the cellar. Vegetables and fruits could be dried and stored, but meats spoiled easily, especially in the summer.⁷¹

Marketing for groceries could consume a great deal of a servant's or mistress's time, as could baking bread. Most middle-class families bought commercially baked bread only in emergencies, as they thought it inferior to home-baked. The two most common methods of baking bread took twenty-four hours, starting the evening before and lasting through an entire day. Many women baked on Tuesdays or Thursdays and often again on Saturdays. Even if a cook was engaged, the mistress of the house may have done the baking herself.⁷²

But baking bread and preparing other food constituted only one part of women's busy domestic

chores. The sewing also had to be done, children watched, and the house kept clean. Although many time-saving devices developed in the latter part of the nineteenth century as a result of industrialization, they really did little to ease the burden placed upon the mistress of the household. In fact, one historian of household technology convincingly argues that the only labor replaced in the kitchen was that of men and children -- women's labor actually increased due to the industrial revolution.⁷³

For middle-class women, even those who had a servant or two, the reality of daily domestic routines stopped far short of the ideal. Candles no longer had to be made, but soot had to be removed daily from glass globes and oil added to kerosene lamps. Sewing machines helped eliminate the role of the seamstress, but continued to require the skill and time of the housewife. More numerous and elaborate clothing meant more laundry, and although this was one of the first tasks that women with discretionary money would hire out, freshly laundered clothes still had to be ironed, a job that substantially interrupted the daily routine of the household. Wood no longer had to be carried for the fireplace, but coal stoves had to be cleaned daily, polished regularly, and the kitchen cleaned of dust from the stove.⁷⁴

Meals became more varied and complex, requiring the coordination and regulation of several pans as opposed to the earlier one-pot meal. Flour replaced meal, and subsequently, time-consuming yeast breads replaced unleavened quick breads. The abundance of pots, crocks, and utensils had to be seasoned and tended with extreme care to prevent cracking and rusting. Carpeting, upholstery, and drapery were much more affordable and common, but they produced surfaces more complicated and time-consuming to care for. Labor-saving gadgets like the apple-peeler and hasher, merely replaced back and forth movement with continuous rotary movement, and they rarely appear on the lists of necessary equipment for nineteenth-century kitchens.⁷⁵

A properly equipped and maintained kitchen allowed women to fulfill many facets of their duties: moral, domestic, and social. By assuring a well-fed and healthy household, women faithfully guaranteed their families' spiritual health, discharged their obligations as good wives and mothers, and portrayed the proper appearance to society. With an appropriate atmosphere in the kitchen, women also accomplished their task as the perpetuators of democracy by raising healthy children and Americanizing immigrant servants. Most middle-class Victorians looked upon hired-help as childlike and in need of uplifting

morally, educationally, and culturally. Victorian women often assumed the role of benevolent mistresses in relation to their domestic servants. Teaching servants basic morality and guiding them through the process of socialization allowed women to discharge their moral duty. By doing this, they instilled proper middle-class values in immigrants and newly-freed African Americans, thus assuring the continuation of democracy.⁷⁶

The decoration and function of each of these rooms reflected and ritualized the idealized roles of women as prescribed by society in the second-half of the nineteenth century. The manipulation of interior space, treatments and objects, and adherence to dictated guidelines and standards, also allowed women to begin to reach beyond their limited domestic sphere. The remaining two chapters will explore the women who lived at 1204 Park Avenue in Indianapolis and examine how their roles may have been reflected and ritualized in the interiors of their Victorian household.

York: Henry Holt and Company, 1961, 1.

Indianapolis City Directory, 1861.

8. Winkler and Moss, *Victorian Interior*. Winkler and Moss provide a wonderfully detailed description of

CHAPTER TWO ENDNOTES

1. Giedion, Mechanization, p. 389.
2. Edgar Mayhew, A Documentary History of American Interiors from the Colonial Era to 1915 (New York: Scribner, 1980), p. 125; Grier, Culture, p. 156.
3. Mayhew, Documentary, p. 182; Green, Light, p. 21; Grier, Culture, p. 179.
4. Mayhew, Documentary History, p. 160.
5. Ibid, p. 214: Caryatids are sculptured, draped female figures used as architectural columns. A cabochon is a bead cut in a convex form.
6. Downing, Country Houses, p. 38.
7. Gail Caskey Winkler and Roger Moss, Victorian Interior Decoration: American Interiors 1830-1900 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1986), p. 85; Indianapolis City Directory, 1861.
8. Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior. Winkler and Moss provide a wonderfully detailed description of

carpeting types and the process used for manufacturing on pages 85-94, 153.

9. Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, pp. 30, 83.

10. Ibid, pp. 71, 72, 106, 107.

11. Mayhew, Documentary History, p. 204; letter, Alice Butler to Noble C. Butler, 27 August, 1895, Box 2, Folder 1, Butler Collection, Indiana State Library, Manuscripts Division, 140 N. Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202. Hereafter cited as Butler Collection, ISL.

12. Talbot's Indianapolis City Directory, 1860.

13. Logan's Indianapolis City Directory, 1868/69; Handlin The American Home, pp. 452, 479; Robert G. Barrows, A Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis 1870 - 1920 (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1977) p. 27.

14. Charles L. Eastlake, Hints on Household Taste (New York: Dover, reprint in 1986), p. 85; Russell Lynes, The Tastemakers (New York: Harper and Row, 1955),

p. 106. William Morris (1834-1896) was a popular British designer associated with the Arts and Crafts movement.

15. Seale, Tasteful, p. 17; Lynes, Tastemakers, pp. 113-115; Edith Wharton is quoted in Kenneth L. Ames, Victorian Furniture: Essays from a Victorian Society Autumn Symposium (Philadelphia: Victorian Society in America, 1983), p. 196.

16. Kathryn McNerny, Victorian Furniture: Our American Heritage (Paducah, Kentucky: Collector Books, n.d.), p. 20.

17. Eastlake, Hints, p. 123; Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 170.

18. Seale, Tasteful, p. 19.

19. Barrows, Demographic, p. 27; Letter, Noble C. Butler to F. Davis, Vice President of Indianapolis Water Co., 27 July 1889, page 260 of NCB Letter Book, Butler Papers, Indiana Historical Society Library, 315 W. Ohio Street, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202. Hereafter cited as Butler Papers, IHS.

20. Ames, Victorian Furniture, p. 212; Clark, American Home, pp. 44-45.

21. Ames, Victorian Furniture, p. 212; quoted in Elisabeth D. Garrett, At Home: The American Family 1750-1870 (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1990), p. 33.

22. Winkler, Godey's, p. 309; Downing, Country Houses, p. 39; Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 132.

23. Winkler and Moss Victorian Interior, pp. 65-78, 116-148, 78-89, 98; Garrett, At Home, pp. 32-35.

Graining is a technique used on woodwork where the wood is painted with a base coat and then overpainted with a glaze that is manipulated in such a way as to duplicate the grained appearance of exotic wood. According to Winkler and Moss in Victorian Interior, p. 29, encaustic tiles are durable English tiles, often about six inches square, that were available in both plain and figured designs. The color of the tile is integral to the ceramic and not a glaze fixed upon it.

23. Downing, Country Houses, p. 39.

24. For a fascinating discussion of the symbolic meanings of hall furnishings see Kenneth Ames, "Meaning

in Artifacts; Hall Furnishings in Victorian America," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 9:1 (Summer 1978): 19-46. It should be noted that many Victorian homes, such as the Morris-Butler House, possessed a back hall near the kitchen, providing an entrance and exit area for servants and service people. This protected the visual integrity of the facade and further removed domestic routines from public spaces.

25. Mrs. Logan, The Home Manual (Chicago: H. J. Smith and Co., 1889). It is interesting to note that the size of the man's calling card was smaller than that of a woman's, perhaps demonstrating that the calling ritual was the domain of the woman.

26. Clark, American Home, pp. 42-43; Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, pp. 108-109.

27. Winkler, Godey's, p. 312; Grier, Culture and Comfort, pp. 97, 102; Seale, Tasteful, p. 16; Green, Light, p. 131; Ames, Victorian Furniture, p. 207.

28. Downing, Country Houses, p. 39.

29. Grier, Culture, pp. 254, 255.

30. Winkler, Godey's, p. 238; Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 101.
31. Lynes, Domesticators, p. 149; Garrett, At Home, p. 39.
32. Downing, Country Houses, p. 60.
33. McDannell, Christian Home, p. 83; Grier, Culture, pp. 81, 82.
34. Grier, Culture, pp. 126, 127, 251; Portieres are doorway curtains often found in the public rooms of Victorian households from the 1870s through the turn-of-the-century.
35. Grier, Culture, p. 71; Green, Light, 13; Logan, The Home Manual, p. 7.
36. Halttunen, Confidence Men, p. 102-116. Halttunen provides an excellent analysis of the "parlor performance"; Ten or fifteen minutes was the usual length of the formal call with one-half hour being the "extreme limit."

37. See, for example, McDannell, Christian Home, pp. 134, 83; Halttunen, Confidence Men, pp. 59, 64; Winkler, Godey's, p. 311; Seale, Tasteful, p. 19.

38. Eastlake, Hints, p. 162.

39. Winkler, Godey's, p. 141.

40. McDannell, Christian Home, p. 134; Grier, Culture, p. 6. Kees, Home Decoration, pp. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

41. Seale, Tasteful, p. 19. work, 1910-1912, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

42. Halttunen, Confidence, p. 106; Clinton, Civil War, p. 40.

43. Garrett, At Home, p. 63; Winkler, Godey's, p. 141.

44. Lynes, Domesticators, p. 153.

45. Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 138.

Various house plans were consulted such as those published in Clark, American Home, and Cleaveland and Backus, Village and Farm Cottages. Garrett, At Home, pp. 62-63, 72.

45. Clark, American Home, pp. 67-69; Garrett, At Home, p. 56. House plans found in Cleaveland and Backus, Village and Farm Cottages.

46. Downing, Country Houses, p. 40; Eastlake, Hints, p. 126; Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 138.

47. Garrett, At Home, pp. 72, 75.

48. Grier, Culture, p. 76; Winkler, Godey's, p. 325; Rutz-Rees, Home Decoration, pp. 99, 57, 101; Judith Reiter Weissman and Wendy Lavitt, Labors of Love: American Textiles and Needlework, 1650-1930 (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1987), p. 136; Clark, American Family Home, p. 62.

49. Garrett, At Home, p. 65; Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 138.

50. Habits of Good Society (New York: Carleton, 1869), pp. 289, 290.

51. Clark, American Home, p. 69; Garrett, At Home, pp. 62-63, 72.

52. Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 138.

52. Downing, Country Houses, p. 40; Eastlake, Hints, p. 126.

53. Marilyn F. Motz and Pat Browne, Making the American Home: Middle Class Women and Domestic Culture, 1840-1940 (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), pp. 50, 51.

54. Garrett, At Home, p. 79.

55. Lynes, Domesticators, p. 179; Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, pp. 84, 85, 90, 137, 157.

56. Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 165.
Curtains from the 1850-1870 period were designed to just touch the floor when they were pulled back, and puddle on the ground when they were let down at night. It was thought unattractive for curtains not to touch the floor, and the excess puddling helped prevent drafts at night when they were let down.

57. Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 159; Lynes, Domesticators, p. 131.

58. Winkler and Moss, Victorian, p. 170.

59. Garrett, At Home, pp. 87-90, 92; Grier, Culture, p. 12; Winkler, Godey's, p. 136.

60. Garrett, At Home, p. 78; Godey's Lady's Book, February, 1860, p. 136.

61. Calvert, Childhood, p. 46; John F. Kasson, Rudeness and Civility: Manners in 19th Century America (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), pp. 193-195; Green, Light, p. 47.

62. Logan, Home, pp. 5-7; Lynes, Domesticators, pp. 176, 177, 195, 197; The luncheon in Indianapolis is noted in, "Visite Register" of Libbie Vinton Pierce, 1888-1894, Pierce-Krull Collection, ISL, Box 1. In the 1850s and 1860s it was still common for the table cloth to be completely removed before the dessert course with a second cloth sometimes put in its place.

72. Strasser, Never Done, pp. 23-24.

63. Logan, Home, p. 2.

64. Anonymous Author, Habits, pp. 176, 177.

65. Logan, Home, pp. 2-4.

66. Tennessee Claflin, "Constitutional Equality a Right of Woman," 1871 in Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism. Aileen S. Kraditor, ed. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), pp. 131-135.

67. Clark, American Home, p. 62; Garrett, At Home, pp. 95.

68. Lynes, Domesticators, pp. 129, 131.

69. Garrett, At Home, p. 97, 102, 103, 106; Green, Light, p. 70.

70. Green, Light, pp. 86-87.

71. Strasser, Never Done, p. 29.

72. Strasser, Never Done, pp. 23-24; Green, Light, pp. 60, 61.

73. Cowan, More Work, p. 53.

74. Ibid, pp. 62, 65. According to Cowan, an experiment conducted in Boston in 1899 showed that it took almost one hour each day to tend and keep-up the cooking stove by performing the chores of carrying coal, sifting ashes, building fires, tending fires, emptying ashes, blacking the stove, etc.

75. Cowan, More Work, pp. 62, 51; Strasser, Never Done, p. 44; Giedion, Mechanization, p. 553. Examples of equipment with rotary movements include slaw cutters, apple peelers, hashers, etc.

76. David M. Katzman, Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 170.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FAMILIES OF THE MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE

On May 3, 1870, there appeared on the front page of the Indianapolis News an article entitled "The Popular Pretty Woman," which detailed the qualities and characteristics of the ideal female. The editor must have considered the article timely enough to warrant a prominent spot on the paper's front page. Of the popular pretty woman, the article says that she keeps "a well-managed house" produces a prodigious amount of needlework, gives dinners "planned with careful thought and study" and is not above her work as "mistress and organizer of the household." The ideal woman does not possess "extreme views," does not "go in for women's rights," and does not "dabble in politics." She does her charity work and finds "time for her nursery." Her nature is "gentle," her affections "large" and her passions "small." The pretty woman "carries with her an atmosphere of happiness, of content, of spiritual completeness, of purity" and knows how to combine "domesticity with social splendor."¹ This "ideal," as reported on the front page of an Indianapolis paper, echoed the image being widely promoted in popular literature and was, indeed, a tall order.

Did Martha Morris and Annie Butler, the two women who successively presided over 1204 Park Avenue from 1866 to 1879 and 1882 to 1917, meet this prescribed ideal of womanhood? Existing documentary and physical evidence indicates that they at least attempted to live within the regimented boundaries and dictates of middle-class Victorian society. That their actual roles and duties somewhat contradicted the ideal is also highly probable.

Martha Morris and Anne Butler had much in common. Both gave birth to several children -- six and seven respectively; both belonged to the Second Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis and participated in church functions; both suffered tragedy -- one losing a son to accidental death, the other losing a son to mental illness; both married well-respected and successful husbands; and both lived in a house thought to be modern, situated in a prestigious Indianapolis neighborhood.²

As is often the case with historical documents, written information tells much more about the husbands than it does the wives of these two families. Nonetheless, this chapter will attempt to outline what is known about Martha Morris, Anne Butler, and their families, and discuss how this information relates to the roles these two women fulfilled. The chapter will also explore what the choice of the house at 1204 Park Avenue

implies about both families, and how the Morris and later the Butler women may have chosen objects for their new home. A room-by-room analysis of the public rooms of the house is contained in Chapter Four.

Martha Morris and the Morris Family

Miss Martha A. Wiles of Lebanon, Ohio, married John D. Morris on June 30, of 1841. (See Appendix Three, "Morris Family Genealogy.") Morris was twenty-five and his bride, twenty. As the son of one of Indianapolis' first settlers and major businessmen, Morris Morris, John would have been considered a fine match for young Martha.³

John's father and mother arrived in Indianapolis in 1821 as the newly-named capital struggled into existence. Morris Morris, who as a youth moved with his parents from Monongalia County, Virginia, to Fleming County, Kentucky, married his second cousin Rachael Morris in 1803.

Rachael, through her mother, descended from Mary Allerton, who at the age of two crossed the Atlantic in the Mayflower and lived to be the last survivor of the Pilgrim's famous voyage. The Morrises had eight children. John was their fourth.⁴

At the Brookville, Indiana, land office, Morris Morris obtained a large parcel of property stretching

south and west of what is now Washington and Meridian Streets in Indianapolis. On this property Morris established the town's first grist mill and John Morris grew up helping his father farm their large tract and operate the mill. Hard work and politics served as two of John Morris' major influences.⁵

The elder Morris served in state politics as a legislator and as the State Auditor from 1828 to 1844 -- the town considered him one of its finest men. Calvin Fletcher called him an "excellent man," while Berry Sulgrove thought him to be "conscientious to a rare degree," and a man noted for "clearness of judgement and the union of remarkable decision of character with rare gentleness."⁶ As the sons grew, they also became active in the community and worked hard to promote the city as well as advance their own interests. All three of John's elder brothers were successful: Austin Morris taught school and was a leading Whig politician; Milton Morris became involved with the mercantile business; and Thomas Morris graduated from West Point, became a civil engineer, and later served as a general in the Civil War. The names of Austin and Thomas Morris appear frequently in early histories of the city, showing involvement with politics, railroads, benevolent organizations, and religious matters.⁷

The activities of John Morris are much less frequently recorded. His family's involvement in the community and high standing probably influenced his activities and character, but there is little information about what those activities might actually have been. Calvin Fletcher characterized Morris in 1862 as a "Christian and friend to good men" and John Nowland states in his history of Indianapolis that he had "never heard him spoken of but in flattering terms, all to praise, none to censure."⁸ Morris must have been a respected figure in the community, but apparently did not exercise the same level of involvement with local political and benevolent matters as other male members of his family.

While John Morris assisted his family with the operation of their grist mill, his new wife Martha set up housekeeping in a humble structure located at Illinois Street and Jackson Place. Sometime between 1844 and 1847 the family moved to a larger home, built on the Morris tract at the corner of Georgia and South Meridian Streets. John Morris's professional career also changed, as he first became associated with the merchandising firm of Wilson, Hazelett, and Morris and later took employment with the Indianapolis and Cincinnati Railroad Company. Morris remained with the railroad company from 1855 to

1874, holding the positions of clerk and freight agent. Between 1842 and 1860, Martha Morris gave birth to six children, four boys and two girls: Charles G. (1842-1900); James Wiles (1844-1901); Catherine "Kate" (1847-1915); John Peck (1850-1855); Nancy "Nannie" (1854-1930); and David C. (1860-1919).⁹ (See Appendix Three.)

The coming of the railroad in 1847 transformed Indianapolis into a bustling town, and the Civil War completed the transformation into a thriving city. As the interests of the city expanded, so did its business district, with retailers and manufacturers quickly encircling the Morris property. Indeed, the Morrises seem to have encouraged this growth to increase the value of their lands.¹⁰ Thomas and Austin Morris had earlier expended great effort to have the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad terminate in a depot on Morris property, but they lost the battle to stronger interests. Their continued promotion of the town and their own self-interests had succeeded by 1852, however, as construction of the Union Depot on Morris property brought a boon to their real estate values.¹¹

As the Civil War drew to a close, John Morris sold his remaining property in the central district and purchased lot number one hundred twelve in Ovid Butler's subdivision north of downtown. Morris planned to build a

new home on the lot and move his family away from the bustle, noise, and urban problems of downtown. The Morrises temporarily settled in a rented house at 432 North Pennsylvania Street. By 1866, the family had established housekeeping in their new Second-Empire style brick home located in the College Corner subdivision.¹² (See Appendix One, "Morris-Butler House Floor Plan," and "1887 Sanborn Insurance Map of Indianapolis.")

Of Martha Morris's activities, little is known. She belonged to the Second Presbyterian Church, located on the Circle, where Henry Ward Beecher headed the congregation until 1847. Throughout her life she "was constant in attendance and active in the work of the church"; a church that exercised particularly close supervision of its members.¹³ The move of the Second Presbyterian Church to the corner of Pennsylvania and Vermont in 1865, may have had some influence on the Morris's move north to College Corner.¹⁴ Given her involvement with the church, the fulfillment of Martha Morris's religious role through benevolent causes of the church and the spiritual nurture of her children may have played a large part in her life.

With the prominence of the Morris family in Indianapolis and the esteem in which others held her husband, the social role of Mrs. Morris must have been

extremely important. As an Indianapolis "first family" (among the first to settle the town), made wealthy through the sale of inherited property, the Morrises would have figured prominently in the town's social circles.¹⁵ Their new brick home, built in the latest style following all of the recent dictates of taste and fashion, reflected the Morris's need to express their family values and cultural attainments. Mrs. Morris surely decorated the interiors in a fashion worthy of the architectural merit of the house. Tasteful decoration, good deeds, and participation in social ceremonies, all of which there is evidence that Mrs. Morris subscribed to, demonstrate her adherence to, and fulfillment of, prescribed social roles.

Of Mrs. Morris's domestic role there is scant evidence. She apparently kept a happy home, as circumstances indicate a close-knit family atmosphere. One incident, however, marred this happiness. In January 1855, the Indianapolis Daily Journal reported the death of Martha's youngest son, John Peck, aged four years and four months. According to the newspaper, "his death was occasioned by falling against the casing of a door whilst engaged in playing. He lived but twenty-four hours after the occurrence of the accident."¹⁶ The grief experienced by Martha Morris remains unrecorded and can only be

surmised. Given the increased emphasis at mid-century on the importance of children and the duties of motherhood, the fact that her child died while playing in his own home may have prompted intense feelings of guilt for Mrs. Morris, and perhaps caused her to be especially protective of her other children.

Charles, the eldest son, did not leave home until the age of thirty-two, when he married a woman from Louisville, Kentucky, and subsequently moved there. Second son James lived with his mother until his marriage in 1889 at the age of forty-five. Youngest son David appears to have lived with his mother at least until 1895 and perhaps until her death in 1904. Eldest daughter Kate returned to Indianapolis after the retirement from the Navy of her husband, George Brown, and took up residence with her mother at the Morris family home (then in Woodruff Place). Daughter Nancy and her husband remained in Indianapolis after their marriage. This geographical closeness of the family, combined with the knowledge that Martha Morris's disposition was one of "natural cheerfulness and vivacity" leads to the conclusion that the Morris family held her in esteem, affection, and love.¹⁷

Both Morris daughters appear to have been raised by their mother to fulfill successfully the roles expected

of them. Catherine, called Kate, and Nancy Morris made good marriages indicating the desirability of their lady-like qualities and characteristics, as well as the merit of their social standing and wealth. In October 1871, Kate Morris married then Captain George Brown of the U.S. Navy. Brown had purportedly fired the first and last shot in the recent "War for the Union" and gained quite a celebrity status. Reports of the evening wedding, held at the Second Presbyterian Church, claim it to have been a "magnificent wedding ceremony" with a "rich, tasty and elegant" bridal trousseau. With twelve attendants and groomsmen "arrayed in full uniform" adding to the "impressiveness of the occasion," the wedding must have been a splendid sight.¹⁸ The reception held afterwards by the Morrises was perhaps equally impressive, providing their daughter with an appropriate tribute while at the same time documenting their status in the community.

1869 Nancy Morris, called Nannie by her friends and family, married Charles Haines, a Quaker originally from Richmond, Indiana.¹⁹ Unfortunately, no record of their wedding ceremony has yet been located. The success and presumed happiness of the two marriages implies that Martha raised her daughters well, providing them with the skills and the moral lessons necessary to become good wives and mothers.

As the eldest daughter, Catherine(Kate), may have shared some of the household responsibilities, including the oversight of the two younger children. Upon arrival in their new "modern" house, the Morris children ranged in age from Kate at eighteen to Nannie and David age eleven and five respectively. Charles and James had reached adulthood at ages twenty-three and twenty-one.²⁰ Surviving records do not document the employment of a nurse at 1204 Park Avenue, suggesting that Kate or one of the two servants helped with the younger children.

Miss Catharine Merrill, a prominent Indianapolis educator, oversaw the schooling of both Kate and Nannie. Kate continued her education in Chicago, although available evidence does not reveal where or at what type of school. Nannie furthered her education at neighboring Northwestern Christian University, where she may have again studied under Catharine Merrill, who in 1869 became the University's first Demia Butler Professor of English Literature.²¹ The fact that both girls received some form of higher education reflects the Morris's interest in assuring that their daughters could fulfill their expected roles -- it also indicates the social status of the family.

Like their mother, the daughters undoubtedly had social duties and activities. Children in Indianapolis

enjoyed entertainments such as fishing, riding, picnicking, dancing, swimming, and skating -- and after the Civil War, more urban activities such as theatre and spectator sports.²² At the age of eighteen, "Nan" penned a letter to "cousin" Henry Pierce declining an invitation to a fishing party. Expressing her regret and explaining that she had already arranged to spend the night at the house of a friend, Nanny ends the letter with "Oh! I want to go so badly!" The Pierces then lived in one of Indianapolis's Meridian Street mansions, a house that later served as the setting for Booth Tarkington's novel The Magnificent Ambersons.²³ Although any true blood ties between Morrisises and Pierces are unclear, the fact that the two families socialized indicates the prominence of the Morrisises in the Indianapolis social elite.

The obituary notices for Kate and Nannie suggest their faithful attendance at the Second Presbyterian Church throughout their lifetimes. Sunday school was held in the church during the 1860s and 1870s and "most children attended."²⁴ Nannie served as a charter member of the "Flower Mission," a church charity formed in the 1870s in which she participated for more than fifty years. Second Presbyterian ladies put forth great effort during the Civil War rolling bandages, scraping lint, sewing, knitting, and taking food to wounded soldiers at

Camp Morton.²⁵ The Morris women very likely were involved in these benevolent activities. Participation in church and charity work by the daughters indicates that they, like their mother, subscribed to and fulfilled the moral and spiritual roles expected of their gender.

As did most middle-class Victorian women, Martha Morris had servants to help with domestic duties. The census of 1850 shows Mrs. Morris with one domestic servant, a twenty-four year old Irish woman named Margaret Powell. An increase in the ensuing decade in the family's size and fortune undoubtedly brought greater domestic and social demands necessitating an additional servant. In 1860, six years prior to moving into her new house, the census documents the family as having two female servants: W. Keating, age twenty, and A. Sayres, age seventeen. Both show Ireland as their place of birth and a notation identifies Keating as being unable to write, as was the case with the earlier servant, Margaret Powell.²⁶ The fact that these servants were Irish, and very likely Catholic, would have provided Martha Morris with the perfect opportunity to "Americanize" the immigrants with appropriate moral lessons and example, and legitimize her social distance from them. With only two servants it is probable that one acted as cook and one as a general maid to help with housekeeping and some

child-care tasks. Even with female helpers, Mrs. Morris would still have been left with numerous domestic duties.

Members of the immediate family seem to have shared the general prosperity of the Morris family. John and Martha Morris's eldest sons, Charles and James, both opened their own businesses in the boom years following the Civil War. In 1868, perhaps with the financial support of his father, Charles and a business partner opened a wholesale and retail drug establishment at 14 West Washington Street called Haskitt and Morris. Charles's early career had been spent as a clerk and a salesman with the firm of Browning and Sloan, druggists, where he learned the business of drugs and medicines. In 1873, brother James started his own business venture as a partner in the firm of Roll and Morris, retailers of carpets, window shades, and wallpaper. By 1874, John Morris became the vice president and principal stockholder in the Capital City Planing Mill. (He may have been a stockholder prior to this time.)²⁷

The panic of 1873, set off by the crash of Jay Cooke and Company, spelled doom for many businesses throughout the country, including the firm of Haskitt and Morris. By 1874, Charles had closed his business and become involved with a fertilizer company, which itself did not remain in business more than two years. Evidently, the

failure of his son's business did not discourage John Morris, as he entered into his own partnership in 1875 with Charles Glazier. The firm of Glazier and Morris operated as jobbers of coke, coal, grain, flour, and feed, with offices at 146 South Pennsylvania Street.²⁸

The financial depression that began in 1873 did not immediately affect Indianapolis as manufacturing and real estate businesses generally held up well. A false security existed by 1874 that the panic would by-pass Indianapolis or that the worst had already happened. This erroneous belief may have led Morris to conclude that the \$11,500 mortgage he took out on his home in March 1874 could easily be repaid with the profits from his new company. Unfortunately, this hope lasted only until mid-1875, when the local economy began to disintegrate. Glazier and Morris struggled through until 1878 when the firm finally had to declare bankruptcy. The bankruptcy proceedings forced the sale of several parcels of Morris's real estate, including the house at 1204 North Park Avenue.²⁹

The partnership of Roll and Morris also met its demise in 1878. The record does not reveal whether or not the business suffered financially or whether James Morris sold his share in an attempt to assist his father. James's partner continued the firm in the same location,

and I.H. Roll went on to be one of the largest carpeting retailers in the city.³⁰

The Morris family moved out of their Park Avenue home by 1879, with the bankruptcy sale of their imposing brick home finally occurring in 1881. The family moved to a house in Woodruff Place, taking their household goods with them, as bankruptcy settlements did not include personal possessions. The Morris family continued to be well-respected and accepted members of Indianapolis's social set -- many prominent families suffered in the depressed economy of the 1870s -- but the embarrassment they felt must have been great indeed. John Morris died in May 1895 at the age of seventy-nine; Martha lived nine years longer, passing away in 1904 when she was 83 years old.³¹

Anne Butler and the Butler Family

A great deal more is known about the Butlers than about their predecessors at 1204 Park Avenue, due to the existence of family papers and photographs. A comparison of the Butler women and the Morris women demonstrates that, although the two groups of women operated within similar structured and prescribed boundaries of behavior, the roughly twenty-five years dividing the dates of marriage of the two couples did bring changed

circumstances. The Butler women appear slightly more independent and intellectual. This may reflect the emphasis on creativity and intellectualism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century or it may be a direct result of Noble Butler's influence or perhaps it was a combination of the two. Surviving family papers indicate the five Butler women each had distinctive personalities, and each worked diligently to please and earn the respect of Noble Butler.

Annie Browning (1841-1917) came from an old, influential, and apparently somewhat impoverished family from Lexington, Kentucky. Like her husband-to-be, she grew up surrounded by political matters, especially the issue of preserving the Union. (See Appendix Three, "Butler Family Genealogy.") Her father, William Perry Browning, was acquainted with Henry Clay, and Browning's cousin, Orville Browning, was a friend of Abraham Lincoln. Anne Browning's mother, Emeline Armstrong Browning, attended boarding school with Mary Todd. The Lincolns are purported to have visited the Brownings on occasion.³²

According to Annie's granddaughter, Mary, the Browning family was for the Union, even though they owned slaves. They felt that Lincoln "understood their plight" and being a fair man would compensate slave owners.

Annie had two younger sisters, Charlotte and Bettie, and during the war, officers from both armies called upon the young ladies, even though the family had a Union flag posted in the corner of the parlor. This period of uncertain loyalties and unknown future undoubtedly left an impression on Annie Browning. Her granddaughter comments about the slavery issue that "there was enough hangover in my day that I was never allowed to read Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin".³³

Anne Browning apparently met her future husband, Noble Chase Butler, during the Civil War. Butler had joined the Union Army as a telegrapher to General McClellan in 1863, after completing three years of education at Hanover College in Madison, Indiana. Butler hailed originally from Salem, Indiana, later moving with his Quaker parents to New Albany.³⁴ Following the war, Butler studied law with his father and after admittance to the bar became the junior member of his father's law firm, Butler, Gresham, and Butler. Butler came from a long line of lawyers and judges, and politics and the law served as the major foci of his full professional life. The Butlers' law partner, Walter Q. Gresham, became very prominent in political affairs, once being nominated for president. Gresham's political involvement had great influence on Noble Butler and his family.³⁵

On the afternoon of Wednesday, May 27, 1868, Noble Butler married Anne Browning at the Second Presbyterian Church in Lexington, Kentucky. The couple set up housekeeping next door to his parents, John and Mary, and delivered seven of their eight children in New Albany.³⁶ (See Appendix Three.) While in New Albany, Butler served as the "Registrar in Bankruptcy." Salmon P. Chase, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and a close relative of Butler's mother, Mary Chase, appointed Butler to the position. Butler served in this capacity from 1867 until July 1, 1879, when he received the appointment as Clerk of the Federal Circuit and District Courts in Indiana. This appointment brought Butler and his large family to Indianapolis. Butler gained the position on the strong recommendation of Walter Gresham, who had since become a Federal Judge. Butler was one of the few clerks in the nation working for both the District and Circuit Courts and had charge of all court funds and records. He continued in this position until his retirement in 1922.³⁷

Political references litter the papers left behind by the Butlers -- politics appears to have been a subject of importance to the entire family. Butler's brother, Charles, lived in Washington D.C., where he worked for the Department of the Treasury and monitored the pulse of

political affairs. John Butler, Noble's father, championed Republican interests and served as a delegate to the convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln in 1860. The elder Butler often visited his son Charles in Washington, remaining in the capital for months to attend the sessions of Congress. Walter Gresham became quite prominent among Washington circles when he served as Chester Arthur's Postmaster General in 1883 and 1884. In 1887, John Butler recorded that Gresham invited him to dine with then President Grover Cleveland. Cleveland told John Butler that "he had frequently heard of him" when John suspected it to be Noble he had actually heard of.³⁸

Noble Butler served as a delegate to the Republican convention of 1888 that pitted two of his personal friends against each other: Benjamin Harrison and Walter Gresham. Although the convention nominated Benjamin Harrison, Butler loyally supported Gresham, his former partner, for the nomination. When Benjamin Harrison took up office in the White House, he invited Butler's eldest daughter, Brownie, to stand in the receiving line for a formal reception.³⁹

Butler's position with the federal court and his participation in political matters made him a highly visible figure in the politically-oriented atmosphere of

Indianapolis society. Butler participated in a wide variety of organizations including the Indiana Academy of Science, the Lawyer's Club, the Indianapolis Literary Club, and later the Commercial Club and the Columbia Club. Butler served on the Board of Trustees of the Indianapolis Classical School and attended such functions as dinners for James Whitcomb Riley and President Harrison and a reception for President Cleveland. Butler presided over a dinner in 1891 for Theodore Roosevelt, held at the Propylaeum with 103 in attendance. Literary lectures given by Butler proved to be in great demand around the state and often found their way into publication in local newspapers.⁴⁰ This level of involvement and activity on the part of Noble Butler brought his family into social, political, and intellectual circles, and accounts for the near reverence with which he was regarded by his family, especially his daughters.

Photographs of Mrs. Butler reveal her to have been a sturdy woman, and remaining documents indicate she was capable of running a large household and ably fulfilling her role as spiritual and moral nurturer for her family. Her lifelong church membership indicates an involvement in religious activities. Granddaughter Mary Risk Hine remembers that "of course, grandmother was religious."

After moving to Indianapolis, the Butlers joined the Second Presbyterian Church at Vermont and Pennsylvania -- the same church attended by the Morris family. The Butlers occupied one of the twenty-four best pews in the sanctuary, paying one hundred dollars per year for the privilege.⁴¹

The Butler family's membership in the Presbyterian Church shows that Annie's religious preference took precedence over Noble's, who had been brought up as a Quaker. Yet there appears to have been Quaker sentiments influencing the lives of the family as well. This is especially reflected in the slightly more equal status that Noble and his father granted to the women of the family.⁴²

The letters of both Noble Butler and his father John, reflect their willingness to involve Annie and her female children in political and social debates. A letter from the elder Butler to his son in 1888 comments that in "writing to Annie a few days ago I told her I thought the intention of the Republican politicians was to nominate Blaine." Later letters from her son include talk of war and political affairs alongside comments about his laundry.⁴³ From the evidence of family papers, published reports, and family remembrances, there is every reason to believe that Noble Butler encouraged and

cultivated intelligence among the females in his family. This encouragement ranged from involving them in politically and socially relevant discussions to encouraging them to read and to be able to discourse on a wide variety of subjects.

Annie and Noble appear to have had a warm and close relationship. In 1888, Noble wrote from the floor of the Republican Convention that he was "awfully tempted" to "run away" because even amidst the whirl of politics he longed to be with his wife. Noble left behind records of very careful purchases, mostly jewelry and clothing, that he gave as gifts to Annie -- indicating an appreciative relationship existed between the two.⁴⁴

Economically, the Butler's would have been considered firmly in the middle-class. From his appointment as Clerk of the Courts in 1879 until at least 1882 when he petitioned for a raise, Butler earned \$3,500 per annum for his position. It is unlikely that the Butlers had any substantial sum of inherited money until 1890, when the death of Anne Butler's mother brought them one-third interest in the home in Lexington. Later, at the turn of the century, John Butler left Noble approximately \$7,000. Butler appears to have invested wisely and cautiously, being able to support and assist

his children throughout their lives and leave a handsome estate upon his death in 1933.⁴⁵

Like her husband, Mrs. Butler participated in numerous social clubs and activities. She exercised her interest in literary matters through membership in the Fortnightly Literary Club of Indianapolis. Records indicate that Mrs. Butler served as Treasurer for this Club in 1886 and 1887; it then contained thirty-one female members from elite Indianapolis families. She also belonged to the Art Association of Indianapolis and, with her husband, she supported the YMCA, the Indianapolis Orphan's Aid Society, and the Charity Organization of Indianapolis. Butler's position with the court and his participation in political matters made him, and subsequently his family, highly visible figures in Indianapolis society.⁴⁶

There is substantial evidence to indicate the Butler's did a great deal of entertaining. The Butler's granddaughter, Mary Risk Hine, recalls her mother speaking of the formal dinner parties given at the house. These dinners included several courses and were carefully planned and executed, with waiters occasionally being hired for the evening. Those known to have attended these parties include the Greshams and Robert Ingersoll

(1868-1964); and Florence (1891-1957). (See Appendix

-- undoubtedly there were many others of political or literary importance.⁴⁷ These dinners would have required much planning by Mrs. Butler. Family receipts indicate almost daily grocery shopping at local stores. Mrs. Butler "always kept streetcar fare in her skirt pocket" so that she could run errands as, unlike the Morrisises, the Butlers never owned horses.⁴⁸

Even with a large household to oversee and social obligations to keep, Annie found time to travel about the country visiting friends and family. Letters indicate she variously visited her in-laws in Washington D.C., the seashore with her husband, and the Greshams in Chicago. Several letters indicate that Annie and Noble visited his relatives in Rhode Island on occasion. That there always existed a problem in making provisions for the children is readily apparent. After one trip to Rhode Island had to be cancelled because no one could be found to watch the children, cousin Anne Chase lamented that "I don't know what I should do in like circumstances, unless to apply to some Orphan's Asylum or Children's Home or other similar institution."⁴⁹

Anne and Noble Butler had seven children: John (1869-1936); Mary "Brownie" (1871-1956); Annie (1873-1947); Noble (1875-1938); Walter (1876-1945); Alice (1878-1964); and Florence (1881-1957). (See Appendix

Three.) John and Mary Butler sometimes watched their grandchildren so that Annie and Noble could travel. That the children were a "handful" is apparent from Annie's granddaughter who recounts "as soon as the carriage bearing his parents had pulled out, John (Annie and Noble's eldest son) was on a chair in front of the mantel dismembering the parlor clock," while grandmother Butler screamed to her husband to "make John stop." Apparently, however, Annie's family and friends felt as Walter Gresham did, that "a woman who manages so large a household, and does it so well, is entitled to a little rest and recreation."⁵⁰

The duties of raising children, keeping house, overseeing domestic help, providing an appropriate home environment, fulfilling social obligations, and entertaining an endless procession of visitors surely kept Anne Butler Browning busy. She, like Martha Morris, had some help from domestic servants. The census of 1880 shows two female domestic servants in the household: forty-three-year-old Patsy Hart, an illiterate mulatto born in Kentucky, and twenty-two year-old Mary Young, a single white girl. One of these women probably served as cook and the other as nurse. Family remembrances indicate a black nurse cared for the children -- this may

or may not have been Patsy. It is possible that Patsy had some connection to the Browning home in Lexington.⁵¹

In all probability, Mrs. Butler and her daughters completed most of the housekeeping tasks themselves. According to Brownie Butler, as the eldest daughter she "took over the housekeeping" as she got a bit older. Later, the Butler's employed Martha Hawkins, a black woman who cooked for the family for about thirty-five years. Martha's husband, John, occasionally helped with odd jobs and another man, Amos, came in the spring and fall to assist with heavy housecleaning chores.⁵²

The dirt and dust associated with the industrialized downtown area added to the normal housekeeping chores associated with a large family. "The town was full of coal dust" remembers a member of the Butler family. "If you rocked on the back porch all morning and then went in for lunch, when you went out again after lunch you had to clean the chair thoroughly again." Sewing for nine people also necessitated constant attention. Even though the Butlers often hired a seamstress to help, hired seamstresses usually completed sewing projects meaning Annie was kept busy "providing work for her."⁵³

The daughters of Noble and Annie Butler appear to have been somewhat more independent and less susceptible to societal prescriptions than the Morris girls. Mary

Browning Butler, or Brownie as friends and family called her, moved into her new Indianapolis home at age eleven and there remained until her marriage twenty years later. As the eldest daughter, and second in seniority only to first-born John, Brownie held reign over the other children and seems to have been a favorite of family, friends, and teachers. All of the Butler daughters had a very tight bond with their father, but Brownie and her father appear to have been especially close.⁵⁴

Brownie's sister Annie, less than two years her junior, provided her with constant companionship. They shared a room in their new house, at the top of the stairs, with instructions to "listen for the younger children on the third floor." When young, they went places together and apparently liked many of the same things.⁵⁵

Both Brownie and her sister Annie attended the private Girls Classical School in Indianapolis, each paying \$120.00 per year for the privilege. This school, operated by the flamboyant May Sewall and her younger husband Theodore, offered instruction in the primary, interim, and advanced grades. The Sewalls also operated a Boys Classical School, which the Butler sons may have attended.⁵⁶ Both schools were located within walking distance of the Butler's new home -- the girls school at

the corner of Pennsylvania and St. Joseph Streets, and the boys school just a few blocks over at the corner of Alabama and North Streets. Brownie proved to be a good student and upon graduation in 1890, she read a senior essay at commencement entitled "George Meredith's Novels." She also participated in dramatic presentations and musical programs at the Classical School.⁵⁷

Brownie's accomplishments and activities included many of those normally associated with young women in the late Victorian age. She sang well, played piano, and did fine needlework. Brownie enjoyed dancing and entertaining, reportedly going to "all the parties and balls." Family letters show her having "men into tea" and sponsoring "porch parties" with her younger sisters.⁵⁸

Brownie often accompanied her father on trips, remaining to visit relatives for extended periods. Letters indicate she visited her grandparents in New Albany and later Washington, D.C., and she accompanied her father to Cincinnati and Philadelphia. While in Washington, President and Mrs. Harrison invited Brownie to stand in their receiving line on New Year's Day, which must have caused the teenager quite a thrill.⁵⁹ These travels, combined with the honor at the White House,

would have added to Brownie's stature in the eyes of her younger brothers and sisters as well as her peers.

Brownie continued her post-secondary education, a further indication of the family's intellectual encouragement. After her graduation from the Classical School, Brownie began studying with Catharine Merrill -- the same Catharine Merrill who had earlier taught the Morris girls. Although the teacher expressed pleasure at Brownie's "ability and taste," Butler and his daughter decided that she should pursue a more cosmopolitan education on the East Coast. This decision conforms to the general trend of the Indianapolis elite, who in the later decades of the nineteenth century began to send their children away to attend school and to take extended trips in the East.⁶⁰

Butler inquired about the Reed School in New York and was told by a friend that "the daughters of very wealthy people go there and sometimes they are not always the best associates for young ladies who have been brought up carefully and somewhat domesticated." Brownie ended up at a college in New York studying such fields as literature and chemistry. She quickly became "a favorite with everyone," leading her teacher to comment "I hope if all your daughters are like her, I may have them all under my care!"⁶¹

Upon completion of her college degree, Brownie returned to Indianapolis where she helped care for her younger siblings and keep house. Brownie spent many of her days after graduation traveling to visit classmates in the East and the South and entertaining them as they returned the visits. She also taught English at the Classical School until her marriage in 1902 to J. Boyd Risk, the uncle of a classmate. Risk was a doctor from New Jersey and a good bit older than Brownie. They moved to Summit, New Jersey, where Brownie remained throughout her life, raising two girls. Mary "Brownie" Butler Risk died in 1956 at the age of eighty-five.⁶²

The two middle sisters, Anne and Alice, also showed signs of possessing above-average intelligence and somewhat independent personalities. Anne, slightly less than two years younger than Brownie, attended the Girls Classical School in Indianapolis, studied music at the Cincinnati Conservatory and then studied at Cornell University. She eventually obtained her master's degree, also apparently from Cornell, and taught school near Ithaca, New York. While in her teaching position Anne met and married the school's principal, Cony Sturgis.⁶³

Sister Alice also attended the Classical School and, later, Cornell University. The curriculum of the Girls Classical School undoubtedly prepared the Butler girls

well for other pursuits. At the Classical School, they studied such subjects as Latin grammar, physiology, French, solid geometry, chemistry, rhetoric, Greek, English history, physical geography, and English literature -- quite a different course of study than the religious exercises and historical lectures taught to the Morris girls by Catharine Merrill twenty years earlier.⁶⁴

The intellectual inclination of the Butler girls should not imply the neglect of their expected womanly duties. All of the Butler girls demonstrated some proficiency in music and surely shared their expertise with family, friends, and visitors. Alice wrote to her father about the "fancy-work" that she and her friends had done and asked him to "tell Mamma that I have finished one centerpiece and have begun another, a beauty" -- the centerpiece likely being a craft project of some kind. Grandfather Butler wrote that he and his wife "were very much pleased" with gifts they received from Annie and Brownie "showing specimens of their needlework."⁶⁵

Youngest daughter Florence, born in 1881, followed in the footsteps of her three sisters with needlework and music and dance lessons occupying her time. As already noted, mothers expected their daughters to help with household duties and young Florence (often referred to as

"Floss") was no exception. One Saturday found Florence and Alice cleaning the tower room. Alice wrote to her father, "we cleaned that room up in the tower that was so mussed up the last time you were up there. That was entirely Floss's and my job (the cleaning up I mean though I fear the tearing to pieces was ours too)." ⁶⁶

Florence, an accomplished musician, lived in the family home until her death in 1958. She too attended the Girls Classical School, going to New York to study piano with "Joseffy" after her graduation. On the advice of Joseffy, Florence purchased a Steinway grand piano that graced the Butler home for many years and eventually was given to the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra. After suffering a broken hand in a riding accident, Florence went to work as a secretary for her father. Her niece recounts that Florence "drove the courthouse nuts," probably because of her reported eccentricities. ⁶⁷

Florence never married, but sister Brownie writes in 1904 of Florence's engagement and the diamond solitaire she had been given. No evidence survives as to the identity of the intended groom or the reason for the broken engagement. ⁶⁸

Less is currently known of the three boys born into the Butler family. Letters indicate that eldest son, John, spent summers with his grandparents riding horses,

swimming, and visiting relatives. In 1905, he married his wife Mary Wallick and in the ensuing years had two children. John owned a home in Indianapolis and served as the Secretary of the Indiana Trust Company.⁶⁹

In 1907, at the age of 38, John Butler suffered a mental collapse. On the advice of Brownie's husband, Dr. Boyd Risk, John was admitted to the New Jersey State Hospital. Brownie lived nearby and visited him regularly, while other family members visited often as travels took them to the New York area. Correspondence between Brownie and her father indicates that John underwent periods of depression and severe paranoia. At times he thought he had been murdered, that the staff was stealing his food, and that his wife was selling their possessions. The Butlers apparently tried to keep John's illness quiet in the hope that he would quickly recover -- brother Walter did not know of the breakdown for at least six months.⁷⁰

Great discussion ensued among family members as to whether John should be brought home to 1204 Park Avenue or left in the hospital in New Jersey. It seems the family opted to leave him in the care of the New Jersey State Hospital, as he was still there in 1927 and very likely remained there until his death in 1936. Noble

Butler provided financial support to his son throughout his illness.⁷¹

Noble also appears to have provided financial support to his other two sons well into their adulthood. Young Noble (called "Buz") attended "The Rose Technic" (now Rose Hulman) in Terre Haute where he studied mechanical engineering. In 1900, he moved to New York City to practice his profession. A lack of correspondence from Noble in the family letters and the family's uncertainty about his activities and whereabouts may imply that he lost touch with his father and siblings. He married Ruth Sears in 1930; they had no children, and he died in 1938.⁷²

Walter Quentin Gresham Butler, named for his father's friend and former law partner, was known simply as "Boy." His namesake called him a "remarkable child" who "promises to make a man that you will be proud of." Like his father, Walter became a lawyer, moving to Salem, Ohio. In 1904, Walter married Mabel Norris, and they had one child, Annette. Upon learning of his brother's illness, Walter offered to take one of John's children to raise, but there is no evidence that this actually took place.⁷³

The Morrises and Butlers both lived and grew up in the attractive brick house at 1204 Park Avenue. Both families were similar in economic, religious, and social backgrounds, yet different in familial dynamics and influences. The Morris household was established, and the children raised, during a time of great change in Indianapolis and in the country -- changes that both stimulated and allowed separate gender spheres. The "ideal" of womanhood was at its strongest for the Morrises, and their position in Indianapolis society dictated that they should pursue this ideal.

By the time Noble and Anne Butler married and established their family, women had begun to expand the parameters of their influence. The roles of the Butler women essentially remained the same as those for the Morris women, yet they were encouraged and allowed to exercise their intellects and their creativity. For both the Morris and Butler women, their home would have surely provided a major outlet for expression of ideal characteristics and their own creativity.

The House at 1204 Park Avenue

What of the new house that the Morrises built between 1865 and 1866? The choice of the home's location, architect, style, and design all indicate a

consciousness on the part of John and Martha Morris that this home would serve as a crucial reflection of the family's wealth and social status. The Morrises chose a recently created subdivision for their new home, one-half mile north of the city limits near Northwestern Christian University. This subdivision had been created in 1862 by Ovid Butler (no relation to Noble Butler), who then owned all of the land between what is now Tenth Street, Sixteenth Street, Central Avenue, and the Monon Railroad tracks. Because of its location directly adjacent to the campus of the University, Butler designated his plat as "College Corner," claiming that he did not wish to create a town, or an addition to Indianapolis but merely "a locality for suburban residences in the vicinity of the Northwestern Christian University."⁷⁴ (See Appendix One, "1887 Sanborn Insurance Map of Indianapolis.")

The peaceful setting must have been a powerful lure to the Morrises, then surrounded by the noise, bustle, and dust of the central business district. The College Corner neighborhood had an abundance of trees and evoked the ideal of A.J. Downing who promoted the construction of "rural villas" amid "land ...laid out as a pleasure ground ... with a view to ... recreation and enjoyment."⁷⁵ The greatest noise then present would be the ringing of the bell in the University's red brick

Gothic tower or the chatter of students on their way from the horse-car stop (at what is now Central and Fort Wayne Avenue), "across the vacant lots, heading for the campus with nothing to hinder them except a fenced in pasture and a duck pond."⁷⁶

The Morrises purchased one of Butler's interior lots, on the corner of dirt streets then named Butler Street and Hoosier Lane. The corner lot measured 208.6 by 192.6 feet, with ample space to create gardens and orchards, or even to pasture livestock. Although many of the lots had previously been purchased by real estate speculators, the Morrises constructed the first house in the subdivision. Others followed at a slow pace, with the majority of building in the area not occurring until the 1870s.⁷⁷ (See Appendix One, "1887 Sanborn Insurance Map.")

The Morrises received nearly \$20,000 for the sale of their North Meridian Street home and land. The Indianapolis City Directory of 1865 shows them renting a home at 432 N. Pennsylvania Street while awaiting completion of the new house. By 1866, the Morrises had moved into the College Corner residence, although it may not have been completely finished. The unfinished state of the house is suggested by the living arrangements of the two elder sons, Charles and James. Although the

young men had been living with the family prior to the move, they boarded at another home on North Pennsylvania until the following year.⁷⁸

The Morrises planned their home to include all of the latest amenities, an additional reflection of their prominent social status. They hired Dietrich A. Bohlen to design and oversee the construction of their new home. Bohlen had come from Germany in 1852 and established his office in Indianapolis after studying for a short time under Francis Costigan.⁷⁹

Bohlen planned a substantial, three story, brick home for the Morrises in the Second Empire Style just then becoming popular. Empire became a dominant housing type in the Northeast and Midwest from 1860 to 1880, considered very practical because the style's typical mansard roof permitted the attic story to be almost fully utilized. In contrast to the Gothic, or to the Italianate, which it somewhat resembles, Victorians thought the Second Empire style to be very modern because it imitated the most recent French building fashions. The mansard roof, central tower, and unelaborated windows of the Morris's home are all features commonly identified with Second Empire.⁸⁰ (See Appendix One, "Floor Plans.")

The Morris house was appropriate for an upper-middle-class family and was typical of suburban houses

being constructed in the northern states at that time. One Indianapolis resident of the period reported that in the 1860s large brick houses were considered the "modern" type.⁸¹ The house contained amenities unfamiliar to most residents of Indianapolis. The Morrises planned their new home with the luxuries of gas lighting and a bathroom. Gas lighting had come to Indianapolis in 1852, but it did not have wide residential use until some years later. The bathroom provided a most modern convenience to the family -- the first indoor bathroom reportedly constructed in Indianapolis in 1859. Cisterns, located underneath the outdoor laundry room, gathered rain water that could then be transferred to interior tanks and pumped to reservoirs on the second floor making the bathroom fully plumbed. Bohlen placed the bathroom on the second floor adjacent to one of the bedrooms that John or Martha (or both) probably used.⁸²

The Morris home incorporated standard Victorian rooms into its design: formal parlor, dining room, library, hall, kitchen, and bedrooms.⁸³ (See Appendix One, "Floor Plans.") Just to the rear of the house and connected by the roof line, could be found a secondary kitchen or washroom. At the back of the lot, on the alley, the Morrises built a one-and-a-half story frame stable and carriage house. Measuring forty-five feet

long by fifteen feet wide, the stable had one-story portions at either end that may have been used for storage or for conveyances. A twenty-one foot by eighteen foot frame structure attached to the south end of the stable may have provided sleeping quarters for an occasional male servant.⁸⁴

The Morris bankruptcy settlement included their fine brick house at 1204 Park Avenue, with the property selling at a tax sale on January 24, 1881. The purchaser, Noah Armstrong, apparently bought the home as a speculative purchase and did not live there. On October 7 of the same year, Armstrong sold the house to Noble C. Butler.⁸⁵

Butler had moved his family to Indianapolis in the second-half of 1879, renting a house at 270 N. Delaware near his office in the Post Office Building. Butler probably rented as both convenience and precaution; he could have his family with him, yet take time to get to know the area, the real estate market, and the solidity of his job. Quick to realize the opportunity for a sale, real estate salesmen began to contact Butler with possible offerings. "Barnard and Sayles" sent Butler a listing of thirteen possible properties for his consideration, ranging in price from \$8,000 to \$25,000. Butler resisted these offers and still seems to have been

undecided by April 1881 when his father wrote to ask:

"Have you yet concluded to buy a house?"⁸⁶

It is unknown exactly how Butler became familiar with the Morris home -- the Butlers and Morrises did attend the same church and Butler did process the Morris-Glazier bankruptcy case making him aware of the situation. John Butler wrote to his son in March 1882, "I was glad to know that you had got into your new house and were all well pleased in it." A month later John expressed happiness that his son's new home "was likely to prove so pleasant."⁸⁷

Apparently, the house suited the Butler family admirably and seems to have constituted quite an improvement. Butler did not immediately sell his home in New Albany but rented it for a number of years.

Correspondence between Butler, his agent, and renters indicates that the house in New Albany was not exceptionally large or special in any way.⁸⁸ The imposing brick home at 1204 Park Avenue provided the growing Butler family with an appropriate reflection of their new status as a prominent Indianapolis family, as well as the space they needed to accommodate them.

In 1870 Mitchell and Rammelsberg Furniture Company of Indianapolis offered "new goods" in "all the latest and most fashionable styles."⁸⁹ Being able to offer the

Interior Choices

How did the Morris and Butler women choose furnishings and treatments for their home? Both families, firmly established in the middle class, would have been able to afford many of the newest, most stylish furnishings available in Indianapolis. It is very likely that both families brought furnishings with them from their previous homes, mixing old in with the new. But a modern house, carefully chosen to reflect the family's social standing, would have called for modern furnishings and decorations, especially in the formal rooms of the house.

As detailed in Chapter One, at the time the Morrises took up residence on Park Avenue, Indianapolis offered a variety of household furnishings and decorative treatments. The availability of goods was far greater in 1867 than it had been in 1841 when the Morrises established their first home, and the Morrises, with their improved economic status, would have been able to take advantage of these new luxuries. The chart on page twenty-one demonstrates furniture, china, carpets, wallpaper, and artwork could all be found in the growing town. In 1870 Mitchell and Rammelsberg Furniture Company of Indianapolis offered "new goods" in "all the latest and most fashionable styles."⁸⁹ Being able to offer the

most recent styles and fashions is a recurring theme among the advertisers in local newspapers. These modern offerings imply that consumers searched for the most appropriate furnishings and decorations to emphasize their understanding of, and participation in, currently accepted symbolic meanings and social significance.

Furnishings available to the Morrises in Indianapolis between 1865 and 1875 included: "furniture of all kinds, in all woods" and "upholstered furniture"; "refrigerators" that would "pay for themselves in one season"; "lounges"; and a wide selection of pianos. Portable gas lights could be purchased, and one company offered "non-explosive" kerosene lamps. Floor treatments available included: oil cloths of "all widths, grades and styles"; woolen, ingrain, and rag carpets; and all varieties of straw matting such as "plain, white, red, check and fancy check."⁹⁰

Numerous merchants offered wallpapers, window shades, and curtains claiming them to be the most handsome "found in the state" and the "best assorted stock" in "the west." By 1868, Martha Morris's son Charles had begun the firm of Haskitt and Morris, druggists and chemists. Among their stock they offered "paints" and "oils" that the Morrises may have used to decorate their rooms. In 1873, son James entered into

the firm of Roll and Morris, retailers of carpets, window shades, and wallpaper. This family connection may have offered an opportunity for the Morrises to obtain the most modern decorative treatments for their home.⁹¹

An even greater array of goods confronted the Butler family during their occupancy of the house after 1880. Between 1861 and 1880, for example, the number of merchants selling furniture in Indianapolis increased from eight to twenty, with nearly fifty in operation by 1890. The volume of advertisements in local papers increased substantially between 1870 and 1880. The ads continued to tout the availability of "new" goods, "current" styles, and inventory that had been "just received" or was "arriving daily." The variety of items available also increased. For example, Burdsal's Paint House offered "20 different shades." Piano companies added organs to their stock. The simple reference to "curtains" in 1870 had by 1880 increased to advertisements for "lambrequins," "lace," "crepes," "cornices," and "fringes." While notices in the 1860s and 1870s rarely mentioned china or glassware, these items had become widely advertised by 1880.⁹²

The Butler's, however, did not confine decorative purchases to Indianapolis. Receipts present in the Butler papers show Noble Butler ordering goods for his

family from cities as distant as Washington and New York. From Davis Collamore and Company, New York importers of "Porcelain, Pottery & Glass," the Butler's ordered china dinnerware; from Gorham Manufacturing Company in New York, solid silver oyster forks marked with an Old English "B"; from Dorfinger and Sons, also in New York, crystal "clarets" and "champagne tumblers"; from the American Art Association of New York, an oil painting entitled "Summer Afternoon on Salem Harbor, Bakers Island in the Distance," by Albert T. Bricker for \$200; and from another art importer in New York, two water-color landscapes "framed in gilded chestnut" for \$95.00.⁹³ These receipts provide insight into the Butler's lifestyle, not only because they are from distant retailers, but also because they indicate the type of objects the Butler's had in their home. Obviously, the quality and use of the items illustrates that the Butler's made a conscious effort to demonstrate their social status and cultural attainments through the decorative furnishings of their home.

Receipts in the Butler papers show that furniture items and carpets tended to be purchased closer to home. Several receipts are present from Spiegel Thoms and Company, a furniture store located on Washington Street in Indianapolis. Many of the bills are for furniture

repair, such as to the "parlor set," indicating that a family of nine caused much wear and tear on the furnishings. A receipt from the W.H. McKnight Carpet Warehouse in Louisville, Kentucky, shows a large purchase of carpeting in 1878, just prior to the Butler's move to Indianapolis. Although the carpeting may have been left in their rental house in New Albany, it might indicate similar choices in their new Indianapolis home. Charges listed include thirty-three yards of Tap Brussels, six yards of Ingrain, one "Body" rug, three yards of Tap Brussels "for mats" and three yards of fringe.⁹⁴

Surviving receipts also show the influence of the Oriental and eclectic phases of the late-nineteenth century on the decorating tastes of the Butlers. A receipt dated 1889 shows a purchase of a folding screen from the "Japanese Furniture and Manufacturing Company" on Pennsylvania Street. From Eastman, Schleicher & Lee on Washington Street the Butler's purchased a pair of portieres and paid for the laundrying and hanging of "4 pr. Bruss. Curtains" and "2 pr. silk draperies." A letter written in 1889 from a family friend stationed at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, indicates that a "Navajo blanket" had been sent to the family -- this probably could be found artfully draped over a chair or stair rail

educate their children -- providing them with an

in the Butler house to display their worldliness and cultivation.⁹⁵

Prescriptive literature surely influenced both the Butler and Morris women in the choice of decorative objects and treatments. Both families would have had access to advice manuals, women's magazines, and local papers. The presence of plates from Godey's Lady's Book in the Butler family papers supports the notion that this widely-circulated periodical could be found in the Butler home. A handwritten notation among the Butler papers indicates that the women of the family subscribed to Ladies Home Journal, and the Delineator, in addition to Godey's.⁹⁶ These materials would have provided the Butler women with ample opportunity to stay abreast of the latest decorating styles, craft projects, and household hints.

The world around 1204 Park Avenue changed substantially from 1867, when the Morrises arrived, to 1882, when the Butler's arrived: lifestyles and decorating choices reflect these changes. Yet, during this time period, the expectations of women remained largely the same. Victorian society assumed that Martha Morris and Anne Butler would nurture, protect, and educate their children -- providing them with an

CHAPTER THREE ENDNOTES

1. "The Popular Pretty Woman," Indianapolis News, 3 May 1870, p. 1.
2. "Mrs. Martha W. Morris Dead," Indianapolis News, 3 October 1904; Indianapolis Daily Journal, 27 January 1855, p. 2. Morris genealogy, provided by Anne Morris Mertz, 703 Princeton Road, Wilmington, Delaware 19807, now in the author's files. Frederick Doyle Kershner, A Social and Cultural History of Indianapolis 1860-1940, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1950, p. 21; Butler genealogy provided by Mary Risk Hine, archives, Morris Butler House Museum, 1204 Park Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202. Hereafter cited as MBHM; Butler Collection, ISL, Boxes 2 and 3.
3. John H. B. Nowland, Early Reminiscences of Indianapolis with Short Biographical Sketches of its Early Citizens and of a Few of the Prominent Business Men of the Present Day (Indianapolis: 1870), p. 134; Morris genealogy provided by Anne Morris Mertz, author's files.
4. Nowland, Reminiscences, pp. 105-108; George Willison, Saints and Strangers (New York: Reynal and

Hitchcock, 1945), pp. 121-122. Morris genealogy provided by Anne Morris Mertz, author's files.

5. Nowland, Reminiscences, pp. 105-108. According to the research of Anne Morris Mertz, now in the author's files, this property consisted of seventy-four acres.

6. Nowland, Reminiscences, p. 106; Berry R. Sulgrove, History of Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana (Philadelphia: 1878), pp. 216-217; Gayle Thornbrough, ed. The Diary of Calvin Fletcher (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1982), vol. VII, p. 550.

7. James Madison, Indianapolis Businessmen and the Business Community, Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1972, p. 91; Nowland, Reminiscences, pp. 106, 107.

8. Thornbrough, Diary of Fletcher, Vol. VII, p. 312; John H. B. Nowland, Sketches of Prominent Citizens of 1876, with a Few of the Pioneers of the City and County Who Have Passed Away (Indianapolis, 1877); Morris apparently was a good friend of Nowland and served as the best man in his wedding. John's activities included

membership in the Indianapolis Band and the Masonic Lodge.

9. "James W. Morris Dead," Indianapolis Daily Journal, 24 July 1909, p. 8; "Mrs. Catherine Brown, Widow of Admiral, Dead" Indianapolis Star, 21 August 1915; Nowland, Prominent Citizens; Grooms and Smith, Indianapolis City Directory, 1855 and 1861; Indianapolis City Directory, 1874, p. 274; Morris genealogy provided by Anne Morris Mertz, author's files.

10. Madison, Businessmen, p. 87; Pamela J. Bennett and Shirley S. McCord, Progress After Statehood: A Book of Readings (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1974), p. 497.

11. Madison, Businessmen, p. 87; Bennet/McCord, Readings, p. 497, 498.

12. Indianapolis City Directory, 1864, 1865, 1866; Abstract of Title for 1204 Park Avenue, archives, MBHM.

13. "Mrs. Martha W. Morris Dead," Indianapolis News, 3 October 1904; Kershner, Social and Cultural, p. 96.

14. William R. Holloway, Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City, 1870, p. 207.
15. Nowland, Prominent Citizens; "Mrs. Martha W. Morris Dead," Indianapolis News, 3 October 1904.
16. Indianapolis Daily Journal, 27 January 1855, p. 2.
17. Morris genealogy provided by Anne Morris-Mertz, author's files; "Mrs. Martha W. Morris Dead," Indianapolis Daily Journal, 24 July 1909, p. 8; Indianapolis City Directory, 1895; Indianapolis City Directory, 1898; "Rear Admiral George Brown" un-cited newspaper article, June 1897, archives, MBHM.
18. "Rear Admiral George Brown," un-cited newspaper article, June 1897, archives, MBHM; Indianapolis News, 5 October 1871, p. 4.
19. Indianapolis News, 26 September 1941.
20. Morris genealogy, provided by Anne Morris Mertz, author's files; Kershner, Social and Cultural, p. 96.

21. Indianapolis Star, 21 August 1915; Indiana Biographical Service, Volume 4, p. 30; Indianapolis Star, 14 August 1929; Sulgrove, History of Indianapolis, pp. 420-422. Northwestern Christian University later became Butler University, named in honor of Ovid Butler.

22. Kershner, Social and Cultural, pp. 25, 56, 57.

23. Booth Tarkington, The Magnificent Ambersons (New York, 1923); Letter, Nannie Morris to Henry D. Pierce, 4 June 1873, Pierce-Krull Collection, ISL, Box 1, Folder 4.

24. Kershner, Social and Cultural, p. 22; Indianapolis Star, 14 August 1929; Indianapolis Star, 21 August 1915.

25. Kershner, Social and Cultural, p. 22; Indianapolis Star, 14 August 1929.

26. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, Decennial Returns, Population, 1860 and 1850, manuscript version, ISL, Genealogy Division.

27. Indianapolis City Directories, 1861-1868, 1874.

28. Indianapolis City Directory, 1874, 1875.

29. Abstract of Title, 1204 Park Avenue, archives, MBHM; Kershner, Social and Cultural, pp. 73-74; Indianapolis City Directories, 1878, 1879. The proceedings of the Glazier and Morris bankruptcy are housed at the National Archives, Great Lakes Region, 7358 South Pulaski Road, Chicago, Illinois 60629. The case, number 2637, is comprised of approximately 1,000 pages of documents. An examination of these legal documents by the author, although interesting, brought little new information to light.

30. Indianapolis City Directory, 1878, 1879. I.H. Roll advertisements appear weekly through the 1880s and 1890s in the Indianapolis News.

31. Abstract of Title, 1204 Park Avenue, archives, MBHM; Indianapolis City Directory, 1880, 1881, 1882; "Mrs. Martha W. Morris Dead," Indianapolis News, 3 October 1904.

32. Typed manuscript, Mary Risk Hine, "Mr. Lincoln," October 1988, p. 2, archives, MBHM; Margaret Scott, "Ex-

Clerk of U.S. Court Tells Experiences Dating from Early Life," Indianapolis Star, 27 November 1927. Mary Risk Hine is the daughter of Brownie Butler and granddaughter of Noble C. Butler. In correspondence to a former administrator of MBHM, Mrs. Hine shared much family information.

33. Typed manuscript, Mary Risk Hine, "Mr. Lincoln," October 1988, p. 2, archives, MBHM ; Scott, "Ex-Clerk," Indianapolis Star, 27 November 1927.

34. Indiana Biographical Service, Volume 12, p. 14, ISL, Indiana Division; Typed manuscript, Mary Risk Hine, "Mr. Lincoln," October 1988, archives, MBHM.

35. Indiana Biographical Service Volume 12, p. 14, ISL, Indiana Division.

36. Wedding Invitation of Annie Browning and Noble C. Butler as included in a letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 27 May 1868, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 1, Folder 1; Scott, "Ex-Clerk," Indianapolis Star, 27 November 1927.

37. Scott, "Ex-Clerk," Indianapolis Star, 27 November 1927; Letter, Mary Risk Hine to Donald Weir, 11 August 1985, archives, MBHM.
38. Letter, Charles Butler to Noble Butler, 30 January, 1879, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 12, Folder 10; John Hopkins Butler Obituary, Indianapolis News, 22 June 1900; Taylor, Facts About the Presidents, p. 247; Letter, John H. Butler to Noble Butler, 3 February 1887, Butler Papers, IHS, Folder 9, Box 15. John Butler writes in the letter of February 3 that he felt he should decline Cleveland's invitation because he did not have any "swallowtails," but Gresham convinced him to go anyway as not everyone would be wearing them. When they got there, John was indeed the only one in attendance without tails and reported feeling "rather silly".
39. Letter, Noble Butler to Anne Butler, 21 June 1888 in the possession of Mary Risk Hine, transcribed copy in archives, MBHM.
40. Various receipts: Indiana Academy of Science, 13 March 1890, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 24, Folder 3; August Lawyers Club, 29 April 1889, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 22, Folder 11; Indianapolis Literary Club, 2 October 1879,

Butler Papers, IHS, Box 12, Folder 17; Columbia Club, 1906, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 49, Folder 6; Notice, 3 October 1888, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 22, Folder 6; Notice, January 1888, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 21, Folder 7; Notice, 23 September 1887, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 21, Folder 3; Clipping, 16 May 1891, pasted in the Scrapbook, Butler Papers, IHS. Numerous letters and clippings in the Butler Papers, IHS, demonstrate Butler's literary expertise and the demand for his work. See for example George McNutt to Noble Butler, 15 March 1882, Box 14, Folder 5 and Hale to Noble Butler, 12 December 1888, Box 22, Folder 7. Noble Butler was a very active member of the Indianapolis Commercial Club formed in 1890. Colonel Eli Lilly, grandfather of the Morris-Butler House benefactor, was president of the club. It is very likely that this association between the two men is what brought Eli Lilly to play at 1204 Park Avenue as a child.

41. Letter, Mary Risk Hine to Donald Weir, 8 August 1985, archives, MBHM; Bill from the Second Presbyterian Church, 1880, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 13, Folder 8.

42. Letter, Mary Risk Hine to Donald Weir, 11 August 1985, archives, MBHM; According to Giedion, Mechaniza-

tion, p. 513, Quakers regarded women as more equal to men than other religions.

43. Letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 23 April 1888, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 22, Folder 1; Letter, Noble Butler, Jr. to Annie Butler, 6 May 1898, ISL, Box 2, Folder 1.

44. Letter, Noble C. Butler to Annie Butler, 21 June 1888, archives, MBHM. There are dozens of letters in Butler's letterbook, Butler Papers, IHS, regarding the purchase of gifts for Annie. These letters demonstrate obsessive perfectionism when it came to gift-buying for his wife. See for example, numerous letters in the letterbook from Noble C. Butler to Theodore B. Starr, a jeweler, and Mr. Conklin, a furrier.

45. Document from the Court of Claims no. 15047 p. 69, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 18, Folder 9; Letter, U.S. Senate to Noble Butler, 10 February 1882, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 14, Folder 4. Butler claimed that his salary was entirely disproportionate to the work. Court clerks were paid out of court fees not by an annual salary. This meant that Butler's income may have been irregular. He also felt cheated because as Clerk of both courts he was

fulfilling two positions but being paid for one. Butler lobbied Congress and his friends there to help him, but the family papers do not indicate whether or not he was successful. See Noble Butler Letterbook, p. 402, Butler Papers, IHS. John H. Butler died in 1900 leaving an estate of \$14,643.50 to be divided equally between Noble and Charles Butler after \$50 legacies were granted to the eight grandchildren.

46. Literary Club Program, 28 September 1886, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 19, Folder 6; Receipt, Indianapolis Orphan's Aid Society, 13 May 1886, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 19, Folder 2; Receipt, Charity Organization of Indianapolis, 10 December 1889, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 23, Folder 8; Receipt, YMCA, undated, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 22, Folder 5; Letter, Art Association of Indianapolis to Mr. and Mrs. Noble C. Butler, 18 April, 1890, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 24, Folder 4. The Indianapolis Arts Association was founded in 1883 by May Wright Sewall for the "study and promotion of art." The Association sponsored exhibitions and art classes.

47. Letter, Mary Risk Hine to Morris-Butler House, 9 August 1987, archives, MBHM; Scott, "Ex-Clerk," Indianapolis Star, 27 November, 1927.

48. Letter, Hine to Weir, 11 August 1985, archives MBHM; Noble Butler sold the northerly section of the lot in 1888 -- this section included all of the stable buildings.

49. Letter, John H. Butler to Noble Butler, 30 January 1887, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 20, Folder 3; Receipt, Engleside, Beach Haven, N.J., 1895, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 1; Letter, Anne Chase to Noble Butler, 26 August 1880, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 13, Folder 5; Letter, Noble C. Butler to H.B. Hammond, 7 February, 1888, Letterbook, p. 132, Butler Papers, IHS.

50. Typed manuscript, Mary Risk Hine, "Mr. Lincoln," October 1988, archives, MBHM; Letter, John H. Butler to Noble Butler, 5 April 1881, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 13, Folder 11; Letter, Walter Gresham to Noble Butler, 23 April 1887, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 53, Folder 10.

51. Decennial Returns, Population, 1880, manuscript, ISL, Genealogy Division; Letter, Mary Risk Hine to Donald Weir, 8 August 1985, archives, MBHM.

52. Letter, Hine to Weir, 8 August 1985, archives MBHM;
Letter, Hine to Weir, 31 March 1988, archives MBHM.

53. Letter, Hine to Weir, 11 August, 1985, archives,
MBHM; Letter, Brownie Butler to Noble C. Butler, 1 May
1890, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 24, Folder 5.

54. Butler genealogy provided by Mary Risk Hine,
archives, MBHM; Letter, Alice Butler to Noble C. Butler,
27 August 1895, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 1;
Letter, Julia McAllister to Noble C. Butler, 10 November
1890, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 25, Folder 5. The
closeness of the daughters to their father is readily
apparent when reading the various correspondence in the
Butler Papers, IHS, and the Butler Collection, ISL.

55. Letter, Hine to Weir, 31 March 1988, archives, MBHM.

56. Bill, Indianapolis Classical School for Girls to
Noble C. Butler, 10 May 1887, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 20,
Folder 7; A letter from T. Sewall to Noble Butler,
29 December 1883, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 15, Folder 7,
indicates that eldest son John was attending the school
at that time; Indianapolis Girls Classical School
Commencement Bulletin 1890, ISL, Indiana Division.

57. Letter, T. Sewall to Noble Butler, 29 December 1883, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 15, Folder 7; Girls Classical School Commencement Bulletin 1890, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 24, Folder 4.

58. Letter, Alice Butler to Noble C. Butler, 27 August 1895, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 1; Letter, Hine to Weir, 31 March 1988, archives, MBHM.

59. Letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 10 July 1883, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 15, Folder 2; Letter, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Noble C. Butler, 17 October 1890, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 25, Folder 1; Letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 26 August 1888, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 22, Folder 5; Letter, Hine to Weir, 31 March 1988, archives, MBHM.

60. Kershner, Social and Cultural p. 193; Letter, Catharine Merrill to Noble C. Butler, 13 November 1890, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 25, Folder 5.

61. Letter, Hifford to Noble C. Butler, 20 October 1890, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 25, Folder 1; Letter, Julia McAllister to Noble C. Butler, 10 November 1890, Butler

Papers, IHS, Box 25, Folder 5. It is unclear which college in New York Brownie attended.

62. Letter, Hine to Weir, 31 March 1988, archives MBHM; Correspondence between Brownie Butler and Noble C. Butler 1903 - 1933, Butler Collection, ISL, Boxes 2 and 3.

63. Letter, Hine to Barbara Shearer Minaker, 27 March 1988, copy in the archives, MBHM.

64. Letter, Hine to Barbara Shearer Minaker, 27 March 1988, copy in the archives, MBHM; Classical School for Girls Catalogue 1888/1889, ISL, Indiana Division; Graydon, Katharine Merrill, My Life and Letters, (Greenfield, IN: Mitchell Co., 1934), p. 303.

65. Letter, Alice Butler to Noble C. Butler, 7 August 1895, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2 Folder 1; Letter, Alice Butler to Noble C. Butler, 27 August 1895, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2 Folder 1; Letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 28 December 1883, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 15, Folder 7.

66. Receipt for dancing lessons from D.B. Brenncke, 30 December 1891, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2,

Folder 1; Letter, Alice to Noble C. Butler, 7 August 1895, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 1.

67. Florence Butler, obituary, Indianapolis News, 8 January 1958; Letter, Hine to Weir, 26 October 1988, archives, MBHM; Letter, Hine to Weir, 8 August 1985, archives, MBHM.

68. Florence Butler, obituary, Indianapolis News, 8 January 1958; Letter, Brownie Butler to Florence Butler, 21 March 1904, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2 Folder 2.

69. John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 19 August 1884, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 16, Folder 5; Letter, John A. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 29 August 1905, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 2; Letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 6 August 1881, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 13, Folder 14.

70. Boxes 2 and 3 of the Noble Butler Collection, ISL, contain extensive correspondence between Noble C. Butler and Brownie Butler Risk, most of which deals with John Butler's illness. See for example, Brownie Butler to Noble C. Butler, March 1907, Box 3, Folder 2. Brother Walter G. Butler expresses his frustration at not knowing

of the illness in a letter to his father, 22 August 1907, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 3.

71. Alice Butler to Noble C. Butler, 3 July 1907, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 3; See Note 70.

72. Letter, Noble C. Butler, Jr. to Noble C. Butler, 9 January 1900, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 2; Letter, Noble C. Butler, Jr. to Noble C. Butler, 11 July 1899, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 1; Butler Genealogy, archives, MBHM.

73. Letter, Walter Gresham to Noble C. Butler, 27 July 1887, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 53, Folder 10; Letter, Walter Butler to Noble C. Butler, 18 December 1906, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 3; Letter, Walter Butler to Noble C. Butler, 22 August 1907, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 3; Butler Genealogy, archives, MBHM.

74. Plat Book One, p. 246, Indianapolis/Marion County Recorder's Office, Government Center, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46202. Hereafter cited as I/MC Recorder. Northwestern Christian University's campus reached from what is now 13th to 15th Streets and College Avenue to

the railroad tracks. It covered approximately the same area as the College Corner neighborhood.

75. Quoted in Roger Kennedy, Architecture, Men, Women and Money, (New York: Random House, 1985), p. 461.

76. Helen McKay Steele, "My Neighborhood," p. 33, handwritten manuscript, Theodore L. Steele Collection, IHS.

77. Old Northside Preservation Plan Number 7 (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Historic Preservation Commission, 1979); Plat Book One, p. 246, I/MC Recorder.

78. John H. Holiday, Indianapolis and the Civil War (Indianapolis: E. J. Hecker, 1911), p. 587; Indianapolis City Directory, 1866, 1867, 1868. It is likely that the four bedrooms on the second floor had been completed, enough to accommodate John and Martha Morris and their three younger children, but that the three bedrooms in the attic story were completed after the family had taken up residence.

79. Wilbur D. Peat, Indiana Houses (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1962), p. 186.

80. Virginia and Lee McAllester, A Field Guide to American Houses (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1989), pp. 241-251.

81. Quoted in Kershner, Social and Cultural, p. 96; McAllester, Field Guide, pp. 241-251.

82. Kershner, Social and Cultural, p. 49; Indianapolis City Directory, 1860, p. 270. Interior bathrooms were often considered necessities for the use of the sick and the elderly. The Morrises, however, had no known invalids in the family. At the time construction began, Rachael Morris had already passed away (1863) and Morris Morris was firmly ensconced in the home of his son, Thomas Morris, where the elder Morris and his wife had lived for some time. It seems reasonable to believe, then, that the Morrises had the bathroom built merely for their own convenience. Plumbing was added to the kitchen in 1895.

83. Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interiors, pp. 5-7. See also Clifford Clark's discussion of room arrangements in The American Family Home, pp. 37-46.

84. The Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Map of Indianapolis, 1887 (New York). The Butlers never owned horses, and they sold the property containing the outbuildings in 1888. This leads us to conclude that the stable and other outbuildings were constructed and used by the Morrises.

85. "Narrative concerning acquisition and transfer of title to lot 112, Ovid Butler subdivision of John D. Morris," archives, MBHM. See also note 29.

86. Indianapolis City Directory 1879, 1880, 1881; Letter, Barnard and Sayles to Noble C. Butler, 29 September 1879, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 12, Folder 16; Letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 13 April 1881, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 13, Folder 11.

87. Letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 19 March 1882, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 14, Folder 5; Letter, John H. Butler to Noble C. Butler, 18 April 1882, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 14, Folder 5.

88. Dozens of letters in the Butler Papers, IHS, discuss the New Albany house. See for example: Letter, John Poucher to Noble C. Butler, 23 August 1886, Box 19,

Folder 5; Letter, Field to Noble C. Butler, 3 March 1882, Box 14, Folder 5; Letter, Mrs. John Poucher to Noble C. Butler, 20 May 1885, Box 17, Folder 4; Letter, James G. Harrison to Noble C. Butler, 10 January 1880, Box 13, Folder 3. If the agent and the renters are to be believed, the Butler's New Albany house was somewhat run-down and Butler proved to be an inattentive landlord -- not answering letters and responding to repair requests only after the situation had become urgent or hazardous.

89. Indianapolis News, 19 December 1870.

90. Indianapolis News, 19 December 1870, 25 June 1870, 14 March 1870, 26 April 1870.

91. Indianapolis News, 11 November 1870, 22 September 1870, 10 February 1870; Indianapolis City Directory, 1874, p. 321.

92. Indianapolis City Directory, 1861, pp. 80, 91; See for example, Indianapolis News, 18 May 1875, 28 June 1875, 3 January 1880, 25 March 1880, 7 April 1880, 11 May 1880.

93. Noble C. Butler letterbook, Butler Papers, IHS: 13 July 1889, 27 June 1890, 19 August 1889, 14 August 1889, 12 May 1886.

94. Receipts, Speigel and Thoms, 1889, Box 49, Folder 9 and 11 November 1889, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 49, Folder 9; Receipt, 1 June 1878, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2, Folder 3. Brussels carpeting has a "level-looped pile" with the number of loops per inch indicating the quality of the carpet. Brussels could contain up to six colors. A "Body" Brussels was the most expensive type of Brussels carpeting as the yarn colors were woven to form the pattern. "Tapestry" refers to a method of weaving a Brussels carpet that utilized pre-printed warp threads and a process that produced the pattern and the pile at the same time. The patterns of Tapestry carpets were faced dyed, making them less expensive than a Body carpet with a wider range of colors available. Ingrain carpeting is a reversible, flat-woven, patterned carpet woven on a multiple-harness loom. It was a cheaper variety than the Brussels carpeting. Descriptions taken from Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior Decoration.

95. Letter, John M. Stotsenburg to Noble C. Butler,

27 August 1889, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 23, Folder 4;
Receipt, 27 November 1893, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2,
Folder 1; Receipt, 29 January 1889, Butler Papers, IHS,
Box 49, Folder 7.

96. These periodicals are listed in N.C. Butler's
handwriting in Butler Papers, IHS, Box 49, Folder 8.

The "Room Survey" is a detailed description of the
interior of the house and its contents. It is a
handwritten document, dated 1889, and is located in
Butler Papers, IHS, Box 49, Folder 8. The survey
provides information about the layout of the house,
the location of the rooms, and the contents of each
room. It is a valuable document for the study of
the house and its history. The survey is written in
N.C. Butler's handwriting and is a good example of
his work. It is a detailed and thorough document
that provides a lot of information about the house
and its contents. It is a valuable document for the
study of the house and its history. The survey is
written in N.C. Butler's handwriting and is a good
example of his work. It is a detailed and thorough
document that provides a lot of information about the
house and its contents. It is a valuable document for
the study of the house and its history.

The house is currently in the process of being
restored to its original Victorian style. The first
period of restoration was from 1886 to 1890, a time
when the house was occupied by the Butler family.
The house was then occupied by the Butler family
loosely as the period of 1876 to 1890. The Butler
family occupied the house from 1886 to 1890. The
Butlers purchased the house in 1886.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERIORS OF 1204 PARK AVENUE

The final chapter will explore the appearance of the public rooms of 1204 Park Avenue in three of their decorative stages -- the Morris occupancy, the Butler occupancy, and the current interpretation. (See Appendix Two, "Room Schedules.") This chapter will make summary correlations between these three decorative periods of the house and women's roles as set forth in Chapters Two and Three. Chapter Four will also present the information currently known about the interiors of 1204 Park Avenue during the Morris and Butler periods. Should Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana choose to restore the house to its former appearance, this chapter will provide a starting point for further documentary research. Finally, Chapter Four also makes some assessments of the current interpretive strategy and provides suggestions for change.

The house is currently interpreted in a generic Victorian style. The first floor roughly represents the period 1850 to 1870, a time when the Morrises would have occupied the house. The upper floors are interpreted loosely as the period 1870 to 1890, or the Butler occupancy. The Butlers purchased the home late in 1881

and members of the family lived there until the death of the youngest daughter, Florence, in 1958.

At the time of Florence's death, the heirs stripped the house of its furnishings, including mantles and light fixtures. After use as an art gallery, Historic Landmarks Foundation purchased the building in 1965. By 1969 the Foundation had beautifully rehabilitated and grandly furnished the house. According to staff, Historic Landmarks Foundation made no effort at that time to recreate the Morris or the Butler interiors but simply furnished the house in an aesthetically pleasing Victorian style.¹

Unfortunately, neither the Morris nor the Butler families left substantial evidence for use in recreating their interiors. The house itself is the major clue to the Morris period. The two existing collections of Butler papers offer receipts and correspondence and these prove to be of some assistance for the Butler occupancy. The written remembrances of Butler granddaughter, Mary Risk Hine, now deceased, have been a great help. Only two interior photographs of the Butler occupancy are known, apparently taken around the turn of the century. There are, however, several interior photographs taken at the time of Florence Butler's death in 1958. Although these photographs show the house sixty years after the

period interpreted, they can be useful. A comparison of the earlier photos to the later ones shows many of the exact furnishings and objects in the very same positions. The later photographs, combined with documentary evidence, provide proof that many of the objects present in 1958 had been in the house at the turn of the century. In 1927, Noble Chase Butler remarked "we love the old place just as it is." Relatives continually complained that Florence Butler let the house go to ruin during her occupancy, again implying a lack of updating.²

Specific Room Analysis

Hall

The entrance hall, as executed for the Morris family in 1865, fulfilled the necessary functions and requirements dictated by Victorian architects and design critics. The long dimension of the hall runs from the formal entry door on the building's east facade to an intersecting back hallway. The door to the back hall immediately accesses a side entrance, a kitchen entrance, and the back stairway. In addition to this back door there are four doorways leading from the hall to other rooms on the first floor: the library, the dining room, and two entries to the parlor. Thus the hall provides appropriate access to interior spaces as well as

ventilation necessary to circulate air within the house. The immediate area surrounding the entry is a vestibule, slightly distinguished from the remainder of the hall by an archway. This small antechamber formally separates interior doorways and access from the outside world. A south window in the vestibule illuminates the space.

(See Appendix One for a complete floor plan.)

When passing through the entryway to the main body of the hall, a visitor is immediately confronted with an imposing stairway. A heavy newel post anchors finely turned balusters that grace the stairway to its terminus on the third floor. The stair reverses at intermediate landings. Glancing upward from the foot of the staircase, the entire line of the balustrade can be traced through its graceful curves to the third floor.

Research on interior paint completed by Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana revealed the original paint colors and stencilled ceiling designs of the Morris occupancy. Now restored to its original appearance, the hall is painted olive green with stencilling of green, crimson, brown, and gold on its ceiling. The ceilings of the vestibule and inner hall are stencilled with similar designs: four intricate corner motifs enclosed by a simple rectangular border. The archway delineates vestibule from hall as the top of its narrow width is

painted in a pattern unlike the other two stencilled areas -- a dark border with a round central motif. The paint treatments of the hallway followed contemporary decorative advise of the Morris-era by providing an impressive initial view to visitors, complementing but not overshadowing adjacent rooms.³

These paint colors, combined with the architectural elements, are the remaining evidence of the Morris period. Gas light fixtures can be assumed to have been in the locations their electric counterparts occupy today: hanging lights in the vestibule and in the back area of the hall, and a chandelier centered in the hallway near the stairwell. Universal hall furnishings such as some type of seating, a hall stand, and card receiver are likely to have been present.⁴

The inclusion of a hall in the floor plan of their new house indicates the Morrises chose to follow current dictates of taste and function. The presence of the hall meant that Martha Morris could exercise her role as moral protector of the domestic realm by mediating outside access to her family. This she did primarily through the calling process. A calling record from Libby Vinton Pierce, now in the Indiana State Library, indicates that Mrs. Morris called upon, and received calls from, the women of one of Indianapolis's most prominent families.

We can presume from this information that Mrs. Morris gave and received calls from other families in Indianapolis. Although many women had a set day for receiving calls, as Mrs. Pierce notes in her "Visite Register," it is impossible to determine from the existing calling record what day this might have been for Mrs. Morris.⁵

Participation in the calling process, the presence of tastefully stencilled ceilings, and the physical elements of the hall demonstrates the Morrisises attempt to enhance and confirm their social position. By providing appropriate visual messages to visitors, constructing a ceremonial space to monitor access, and by participating in the ceremony, Martha Morris had all of the props necessary to reflect and ritualize her appropriate roles in this initial room.

The architectural appearance of the hallway remained the same in the Butler period. It is impossible to know when the ceiling and wall treatments were changed by the Butlers. The only surviving photographs of the Butler hall, taken in 1958, show a combination of darkly painted walls and boldly patterned wallpaper. The condition of the walls in the photograph indicates the treatments had been in place long past their prime.⁶

Fragmentary evidence in the Butler papers indicates a few possible hall furnishings. Granddaughter Mary Risk Hine remembers a "very tall mirror with a decorated gilt frame and marble base" that came from John H. Butler's house in New Albany. Mrs. Hine wrote of two chairs and a sofa located in the hall. Family history had the furniture coming from the parlor of Anne Browning Butler's house in Lexington, Kentucky. Mrs. Hine, who kept one of these chairs that "Lincoln must have sat in" had it reviewed by an antique dealer who proclaimed it to date from the early-to mid-eighteenth century. This statement cannot be verified but suggests the Butlers used out-dated furniture in their decorating scheme. Perhaps this furniture was part of the "eclectic mix" that became popular in the last quarter of the century. Or perhaps the family treasured this suite of furniture because of the tradition that Abraham Lincoln, who purportedly visited the Browning house on occasion, may very well have sat in them. This story would certainly enhance the Butler's social standing, even if the style of furniture did not.⁷

The photograph of the hall taken in 1958 shows an Oriental runner on the stairway with treads visible at either side. A portiere is in place at the back of the hall and a folding screen is visible. A bill from

Eastman, Schleicher and Lee shows a purchase in 1893 of "one pair portieres" for \$14.50; there may have been earlier pairs as well. The screen may be the four-fold screen purchased in 1889 from Indianapolis's "Japanese Furniture and Manufacturing Company." These decorative touches indicate that the Butlers adopted new decorating styles in the last quarter of the century and combined them with the old.⁸

Mrs. Butler, like Mrs. Morris, participated in the calling ceremony. Libby Vinton Pierce noted Mrs. Butler's reception day as Wednesday in her "Visite Register," which documents calls both to and from her. Mrs. Butler's participation in the calling ceremony and the frequency of visitors to the Butler household allow us to speculate about some additional furnishings. These furnishings surely included a card receiver and a coat and hat rack, or perhaps a hall tree. Fixtures for gas lighting presumably remained in the location of the Morris fixtures.⁹

Although visual evidence is scant as to the appearance of the Butler hall, what is available indicates that the Butlers, just as the Morrises, attempted to enhance and confirm their social status in this intermediary space. Appropriate furnishings and architectural details, as well as the calling ritual,

demonstrate Mrs. Butler's successful fulfillment of her roles as communicator of status and protector of the domestic realm.

The hallway of the Morris-Butler House is resplendent today in its restored Morris paint colors, reproduction crimson and gold carpeting, and elegant furnishings. Three Gothic chairs and two side chairs provide the seating. A mirrored credenza opposite the stairway not only reflects light but provides a surface for the display of decorative objects. Elegant paintings in gilded frames grace the walls and replacement electric light fixtures have been hung in lieu of those removed from the house. A hall tree resides on the back wall of the hallway, farthest from the entry door, and three tables are placed in various locations.

For all its elegance and beauty, the hallway very likely exceeds anything the Morrises might have offered. A middle-class family, even an upper middle-class family, would have concentrated their formal furnishings on the parlor, not the hallway. Considering that those made to wait in the hall were usually social inferiors, the Gothic chairs seem too grand and too accommodating. Certainly, the hall tree would be located closer to the entry, not at the point farthest from the doorway.

Appendix A: "First Floor"

Even given its grandeur, the hall in its present form still ably reflects the roles of Victorian women. Entry could be regulated through its arrangement and furnishings, allowing for moral guardianship of the family. The card receiver, the hall-tree, the pier mirror are all props for the elaborate calling ritual that permitted women to tastefully convey and confirm the social status of their families. Decorative objects, treatments, and furnishings combine to communicate to all those who entered that this domestic haven was appropriately protected and maintained.

Parlor

By reason of its size, placement, and architectural detailing, the Morris parlor was certainly meant to be the most ostentatious room in the house. The largest room in the house, the parlor boasts a bay window on the south opposite the fireplace and a single window at both the east and west ends of the room. The east window opens onto a small piazza that flanks the front door. The scale of the room is grand with its fifteen-foot ceiling, and its placement at the front of the house is preeminent. Two doorways provide access from the hall to the parlor, one on either side of the fireplace. (See Appendix One, "First Floor.")

The size of the room, as well as the presence of two entries, implies its use for dances and other entertainments. One historian of Indianapolis reports that many of the society families of this period included ballrooms in their homes.¹⁰ The need to have a large parlor must have proved more important for the Morrises than the need to have two separate rooms to use as library and informal parlor: similar Victorian house plans divide this large parlor space in half, using the front for formal use and the back for family use with the two remaining rooms being the library and dining room. A large and imposing parlor took precedence for the Morrises.

The Morrises left further clues to the grandeur of their parlor through its wall and ceiling treatments. The dark crimson of the walls, restored by Historic Landmarks Foundation, is a popular mid-century color for parlors, providing a rich background for typical parlor decorations of gilt, crystal, and marble. Although paint analysis of the ceiling has not yet been completed, its decorative plasterwork alone speaks of luxury. A deep plaster cornice of floral motifs surrounds the room, while moldings divide the ceiling into a five-part pattern with an intricate plaster medallion residing in the center. All of the woodwork in the room is grained

in a light shade of brown, as it was originally. The marble mantle is not original to the house.¹¹

No hints remain as to actual furnishings of the room. If Mrs. Morris followed typical parlor furnishing practices, as she was following much of the standard architectural practices and designs, then furnishings would have included a suite of furniture (sofa, chairs, center table), an etagere, a large mirror, and a piano. Typical carpet treatment was wall-to-wall, and layered parlor draperies were elaborate. Mrs. Morris was a devout church-goer and surely provided objects necessary to communicate her moral and spiritual duties: Bible, family memorabilia, paintings, sculpture, and so on.¹²

This parlor would have provided Martha Morris with an elegant backdrop for her "genteel performances" both as a participant in the calling ritual and as the giver of entertaining affairs. The architectural details alone demonstrate that in this room Martha Morris could best communicate her family's social status. Here, surrounded by her most elegant possessions, Mrs. Morris could silently communicate her morality as well as her ability to confine domesticity to the regions outside the parlor door.¹³

Much evidence exists as to the appearance of the Butler parlor after the turn-of-the century, but less is

known of its appearance before that time. Around 1906, Noble Butler commandeered the parlor for his own use as a library -- space he certainly needed to house his growing collection of books. Prior to this, the Butlers apparently used the room as a formal parlor. They had "uncomfortable gilt chairs" and the "fancy ceiling" of the Morrises remained in place. Carpeting could be found on the floor until the 1890s when, according to a granddaughter, it was replaced with hardwood floors and area rugs. Large oil paintings with elaborate gilt frames graced the walls, while decorative porcelain vases adorned the bookcases and a parlor clock resided on the mantle.¹⁴

Receipts present in the Butler family papers show concern, care, and deliberation in making purchases. For example, in 1889 Butler wished to purchase a bracelet as a gift for his wife. In his letterbook he records four letters to the same jeweler in the course of one week. After requesting and receiving several bracelets for viewing, Butler makes detailed requests about the length, workmanship, and gemstones of the two bracelets he and Mrs. Butler chose. This same level of care and concern is documented in other purchases, some of them household, and can be assumed to reflect the general purchasing habits of Mr. and Mrs. Butler. The Butlers surely

exercised this type of thoughtful purchasing when it came to the parlor. An attempt would be made (as the "gilt chairs" indicate) to decorate according to parlor-making guidelines and etiquette.¹⁵

Evidence indicates that the Butler parlor reflected the more informal, eclectic style of late nineteenth century America. Receipts show that the family possessed an abundance of rocking chairs, some undoubtedly residing in the parlor, following the trend of less posture-specific furnishings. The presence of four creative daughters would lend itself to a constantly changing display of handicrafts and artistic tableaux. These displays would have showcased the family's cultural attainments and reinforced their participation in theatrical social ceremonies. Anne Butler's devotion to the Second Presbyterian Church suggests that in her parlor, the room where she most interacted with others and reinforced her family values, she would have had the appropriate moral symbols to communicate the spiritual condition of her family, for example a Bible, statuary, and paintings.¹⁶

Today the large south room of the Morris-Butler House Museum contains all the necessary elements of a well made parlor: perhaps too well-made. The choice of largely Rococo-style furnishings is appropriate to

parlors of the period, but the number and type of furnishings in the room may not replicate those that would be found in a "typical" parlor. Eleven chairs, two meridiennes (a short sofa with a sloping back), one sofa, and six or more tables in addition to a piano, etagere, and six lamps are currently found in the parlor. The existence of eleven chairs is plausible, as parlor sets were often commissioned with twelve chairs for larger homes. However, the twelve side chairs, often accompanied by one arm chair, generally matched. Those in the Morris-Butler parlor do not. The type of tables present may also be incorrect, as the parlor would feature a few easily moveable tables, for tea and other entertainments, and not so many small stationary tables such as the current sewing tables. And while the pieces made by New York furniture makers Joseph Meeks and John Henry Belter are a stunning addition to the collection, such "name" furniture would probably not have been accessible or affordable to an upper-middle class Indianapolis family.¹⁷

Lighting in the parlor is also excessive. A large and elaborate crystal chandelier graces the center of the room. Two candelabras repose on the mantle. No less than six table lamps are located around the room. It is unlikely that this home (or any middle-class Victorian

home between 1850 and 1870) had enough gas outlets to operate so many lamps without an abundance of tubing stretched about the room. Moveable task lighting, such as kerosene lamps, may have been used to add brightness for special occasions. It is doubtful, however, that so many lamps were in the room all at one time.¹⁸

The decorative objects themselves are more consistent with a typical Victorian household. Vases to hold fresh flowers, flora and fauna displays housed under glass domes, landscapes in gilt frames and sculptures of various materials: These communicate the worldliness and cultural attainments of the household. Daguerreotypes, portraits, and a photograph album express the importance of family. The mantle clock regulates the calling ceremony, while the Bible speaks of the morality of the house's occupants.¹⁹

The paint color and grained woodwork are recreations of the original and thus appropriate. Painted designs of some sort undoubtedly lie beneath the white ceiling paint now covering the decorative plasterwork. The reproduction carpet of crimson rose clusters on a cream background surrounded by a dark border is fitting for the period. The draperies, however, appear to be incorrect in their representation of parlor window treatments. Although they have the necessary elements -- interior

shutters, glass curtains, valance, drapery -- they are misleading in their design. According to scholars of Victorian interior design, the draperies should be able to close so that light and drafts could be blocked. The current draperies do not close. They also possess an excess of material that lies bunched on the floor. Curtains of this period were designed to be a few inches longer than the window so the material would lie on the floor when the draperies were closed. When the draperies were open, as they are now shown at the Morris-Butler House, the material was to simply touch the floor, not drag.²⁰

Even given these problems, the formal parlor of the Morris-Butler House clearly mirrors and ritualizes the roles of Victorian women. The elegant textiles, delicate styling, and curvaceous furnishings physically echo the feminine qualities of women. Contradictions, like those in women's roles, are evident. It is the largest room in the house, yet its formality and grandeur precludes normal family activity. When in the parlor, the priestess of the domestic realm must pretend that domestic issues do not intrude.

The Morris-Butler parlor provides an elaborate backdrop for the public rituals expected of a Victorian woman. Here, more than in any other room, are

reflections of her morality, her social standing, and her ability to reign over the domestic realm. The appropriate props are provided for adherence to the dictates of contemporary advice about the decoration of, and behavior in, Victorian Parlors -- adherence that helped ritualize and institutionalize the roles of women.

The Library/Family Parlor

The Morrises built their home with four rooms on the first floor in addition to the hall. Three of the rooms have obvious functions: parlor, dining room, and kitchen. The function of the fourth room is open to debate. Did the room serve as a library, a family parlor, or combine the functions of the two?

This library or family parlor is located in the northeast corner of the house, adjacent to the front door. (See Appendix One, "First Floor.") A single door leads from the hallway into the room, while double pocket doors on the west wall open into the dining room. A triple window on the east wall and a single window on the north wall illuminate the space. A fireplace is found on the south wall. A cornice, identical to that in the hall and dining room, decorates the ceiling.²¹

It is unlikely that a parlor for the use of the family would be located at the front of the house, as

opposed to the back, and be connected to the dining room by pocket doors. Yet it is also unlikely that the Morris family, with seven people, would not allow themselves a place to congregate, interact, and relax. The formality of the parlor, the practice of the time, and the presence of the two young Morris children argue that it was implausible that the family would utilize the large parlor on a daily basis. Also, there is nothing to indicate that Mr. Morris was scholarly in any way. Although both uses have their rationales, I have concluded that the fourth room of the first floor was used by the Morrises as a family parlor and library, and I will refer to it as the family parlor.

Paint analysis of the family parlor has not yet been done and there is currently no other evidence regarding the historical treatments of its walls and ceiling. According to the administrator of the site, the woodwork has been returned to its original grained finish, matching the graining in the parlor, hallway, and dining room. Because the Morrises seem to have followed decorating advice for other wall and ceiling treatments, it can be assumed that paint colors and other treatments fall within the realm of "typical."²²

Like the other rooms, no objects or photographs survive to lead a recreation of furnishings for the

Morris family parlor. Certain universal furnishings for the family parlor can be speculated. Seating in the form of a sofa and side chairs is probable, as is a center table for the family to gather around. Task lighting would have appeared on this center table and perhaps elsewhere in the room. A sewing table for the ladies would be likely, reflecting the female presence, as would masculine elements such as a bookcase and writing desk. An overhead gaslight probably hung in the same location as the present lighting.²³

Family memorabilia, needlework specimens, and decorative bric-a-brac undoubtedly found their way into the family parlor. Daughters Kate and Nannie Morris could have provided decorative needlework projects for the room. The age of the two youngest Morris children would have justified instructional objects, such as flora and fauna displays, as well as the presence of toys and children's books.

In the last years of the Butler occupancy (after about 1906), the family parlor was used as a formal parlor and music room. Prior to that, the room probably served as a library and family gathering area. The major piece of surviving evidence for the room is a photograph, apparently taken around the turn-of-the century. The photograph indicates the presence of Oriental rugs on the

floor and lace panels at the windows, which also boast Oriental motifs. Paintings and engravings hung on the walls, all at the same level. Chairs of assorted styles were scattered about the room, accompanied by vases, lamps, and a fire-screen. These known furnishings and treatments follow the late Victorian decorative craze for the Oriental and the eclectic. The mixing of styles and the abundance of objects are typical for the last-quarter of the nineteenth century.²⁴

Today the Morris-Butler House Museum interprets the northeast room on the first floor as a library. This interpretation is conjectural, and it is unlikely, as a typical Victorian family would have established a room on the first floor of the house for their own use. The grandiose parlor certainly precludes daily activity and, indeed, is interpreted by the staff as a room for special uses, not family interaction. A "family sitting room" is now shown on the second floor of the house, adjoining a bedroom. Although it is plausible that a typical Victorian lady might have had a "morning room" for her use, it would not have been used by the entire family on a regular basis. It might be noted that this second floor sitting room was created by Historic Landmarks Foundation to accommodate a gift of furnishings. For this purpose the second floor was architecturally

renovated by removing a wall between two rooms, known to have been used historically as bedrooms, and blocking an entrance to create a "lady's suite".²⁵

A more probable interpretation of the room would be as a family parlor that incorporates the function of a library: formal enough to allow its use as a public space if needed, yet informal enough to accommodate the daily activities of the family. This combination of functions would be reflected in a less formal furnishing plan. Objects and furniture used by all family members would be appropriate for display in such an interpretation.

Wall treatments of the present interpretation await paint analysis. Their current color is a light olive green. The wall-to-wall carpeting is crimson with a gold pattern, matching the floor treatment in the hall. The draperies are crimson velvet over lace panels with swag valances and tassels.²⁶

Current furnishings (see Appendix Two, "Family Parlor Room Schedule.") include a bookcase, five Rococo chairs, triple-arch sofa, desk, library chair, footstool, and two tables. The bookcase displays a nice selection of period literature. Lighting is provided by a hanging chandelier, two lamps, and an astral lamp.²⁷

Decorative and utilitarian objects displayed in the room are varied. Andirons and fireplace tools flank the fireplace. The fireplace surround has been painted to imitate dark marble. A clock on the mantle tracks the time, and an inkwell sits on the desk, ready for use. A stereopticon is available to entertain family members -- photo albums and photographs are nearby. Classical statues are present as instructional art along with a bust of Charles Dickens. Several oil paintings grace the walls, including three portraits and two landscapes. Magazines, newspapers, and opened letters indicate activity in the room.²⁸

Carpeting, curtains, and wall color of the present interpretation are all probable, although olive green was not a frequent recommendation among advice purveyors. The current furnishings are appropriate in the main. A center table with a moveable lamp would bring the room more in-line with the family parlor environment. A few of the furnishings post-date the interpretation period of the room and, as such, are questionable. The library chair (which opens to create a step) is one example.²⁹

The number of lights now shown is plausible for a room used heavily by members of the family. The formality of the lamps, as well as the chandelier, may be a bit overstated. Many of the objects on display are

exactly those needed to interpret the room as a family parlor, yet a sense of formality pervades. The addition of more female-oriented items would help: a sewing table, a needlework project in progress, several completed examples of needlework. A few artifacts to represent children are also warranted, such as school books, a doll, or a toy.

The appropriately furnished family parlor, if interpreted as a combination of library and family parlor, allows the woman of the house to separate her family from social activity -- protecting and nurturing them. The Morris and Butler women might have used photographs and family memorabilia to instill the importance of family and objects and organic displays as instructional tools. The creation of handiwork and crafts, as promoted by Godey's and other periodicals, provided an uplifting and embellished atmosphere.³⁰ In these and other ways, the Victorian woman could communicate her moral and domestic roles -- instructor, protector, wife, mother -- through the family parlor.

Dining Room

In accordance with popular Victorian house plans, the dining room is located on the north side of the house, overlooking the gardens. (See Appendix One,

"First Floor.") Three entries access the room: a single door leading from the hall, a single door leading to the kitchen, and sliding pocket doors leading into the family parlor. A fireplace on the south wall faces two single windows on the opposite wall. Between the dining room and kitchen is a butler's pantry, accessed through a door in the southwest corner of the room. Butler family papers indicate that this pantry and the adjacent bathroom were formerly one room, making it a much larger pantry in the original Morris design.³¹

Like the hall, the original, Morris-era ceiling treatment has been restored in the dining room. The stencilled ceiling features the colors gray, crimson, gold, and olive green. Although the stencilling echoes the designs in the hallway -- four corner motifs surrounded by a rectangular border -- the pattern itself is different. A portion of the cornice is painted to create depth and emphasis. The walls are olive green. This color choice is not based on paint analysis, but is plausible nonetheless. During the restoration, Historic Landmarks Foundation discovered two gilded valances, possibly from the Morris period, that fit the dining room windows. These valances would have provided elegant toppings for velvet or other heavy fabric draperies and

would have been an excellent compliment for the other gilt, silver, and crystal surfaces in the room.³²

One piece of Morris furniture, an Empire cherry sideboard, is now in the house, returned to its original location.³³ Located behind the chair of Mrs. Morris, the sideboard represented an orderly, efficient household, as well as the family's wealth. A dining table and eight to ten chairs can be postulated for the Morris dining room. A chandelier centered over the table is fairly certain.³⁴

Decorative objects displayed in the Morris dining room might have included silver serving pieces, crystal, candelabras, and still-life paintings. As the dining room was the second most public space in the house, the Morrises would have used a high grade of carpeting. However, due to the function of the room as a place for eating, spillage and soiling occurred frequently. Thus, many Victorians employed an area rug in the room or used a less expensive over-layer of carpet under the table, called a drugget or crumb-cloth.³⁵

If the large parlor is any indication, the Morrises probably hosted numerous entertainments, including dinner parties and teas. Undoubtedly, the burden of assuring successful dinners, both formal and informal, would have fallen to Mrs. Morris. The presence of the butler's pantry and cook's pass through indicate her desire to

preserve the social appearance of the room and demonstrate her expert handling of domestic matters. As discussed in Chapter Two, a well-trained staff providing a dinner without incident indicated a successful woman.³⁶ Combining this success with healthy nourishment, graceful table settings, and proper adherence to the intricate rules of dining enabled Mrs. Morris to communicate the dutiful fulfillment of her expected roles to those around her.

Again, much more is known of the appearance of, and activities in, the Butler's dining room than the Morris's. Correspondence indicates that dinner parties occurred frequently in the Butler house and were greeted with much anticipation in the family. As discussed in Chapter Three, surviving receipts demonstrate the Butler's careful choice of dinnerware, crystal, and silver, as well as their concern with appropriate menus and appearances.³⁷

Photographs indicate the presence of at least three different sets of china, an abundance of crystal and glassware, as well as silver candlesticks, bowls, and candelabras. Much of this dining paraphernalia was displayed in a curved, glass-front china cabinet. Invoices offer even more insight into the "oyster forks,"

"champagne tumblers," and "clarets" ordered from New York to adorn the Butler's table.³⁸

Although Annie Butler "was religious" her husband prided himself on the excellent wine he served at their parties, kept carefully stored in the basement. Prior to each party, Noble would meticulously chose the appropriate wine and check the glasses for spots or chips.³⁹ A family that exercised such diligence about the selection and serving of wine, surely arranged table settings according to the elaborate etiquette guidelines of placement and usage.

For formal parties, the Butlers often hired special helpers to serve. For example, on occasion they utilized waiters from the Columbia Club. Food would have been served through the butler's pantry from the kitchen where eldest daughter Brownie was often stationed to help the cook. Although Annie Butler would post a menu in the kitchen listing courses in appropriate order, the cook could not read and thus needed the assistance of a family member to assure the success of the party.⁴⁰

Photographs taken in 1958 show the Butler dining room dressed with wallpaper of a large, repetitive pattern above the chair-rail with paint below. The floor was wood with scattered Oriental rugs. Curtains were simple half-sheers with blinds above. These probably

date from after the turn-of-the-century. Oil pictures are evident on the walls and dining room chairs are pictured. Although not obvious from the photos, a large dining table can be assumed.⁴¹

The Butler's participation in social dinner ceremonies and their attention to detail demonstrates adherence to prescribed rules of etiquette and behavior. Indeed a daughter remembers couples marching "in a line from the drawing room" on their way into dinner. Certainly the Butler's possessed the elaborate dining-room props necessary to reflect and ritualize Annie Butler's moral, social, and domestic roles.⁴²

The current interpretation of the dining room in the Morris-Butler House represents the years 1850 to 1870, called loosely the "Morris" period. Appropriate paint colors, restored stencilled ceilings, and grained woodwork are all featured. The gilt window valances, possibly original to the Morris period, now grace heavy olive green velvet draperies over light sheers. Reproduction wall-to-wall carpeting consists of leaves in a circular design on a cream background. Furnishings include an expandable dining table, eight chairs, a card table, a side table, and the original Morris sideboard. A silver tea set is on display, a wedding gift of Nannie Morris donated to the house by a descendant. China and

crystal sits on the table awaiting company, and various silver serving pieces are atop the sideboard and serving table. A large and elaborate gilt mirror hangs above the fireplace standing ready to reflect the light of the chandelier centered above the table. A trio of candelabras in crystal, brass, and marble grace the mantle, also poised to illuminate their mirrored backdrop. Still-life paintings with food themes hang on the walls.⁴³

Of all the public rooms, the Morris-Butler dining room comes closest to resembling what may have been present in a middle-class Victorian household. The furnishings, a mixture of Rococo and Empire styles, are fashionable yet all serve a purpose in this functional room. Although the chandelier over the table may be a bit eccentric for the room, the remaining elements of crystal, gilt, and silver are carefully and appropriately presented. One flaw might be found in the carpeting, now wall-to-wall, which would historically have been designed for easy removal and cleaning or would have been covered with a drugget.

The calculated visual messages presented in the recreated dining room speak clearly about women and their dictated roles. Through dinner parties and elaborate social conventions Victorian women expressed and

ritualized their social roles. Through the provision of the proper dining environment and healthy nourishment, women fulfilled their moral and domestic duties.

Kitchen

The final room the Morrises included on the first floor at 1204 Park Avenue was the kitchen, which is located at the back of the house, adjacent to the dining room. The room has two means of interior access, both on the east wall: one doorway leading to the cellar and dining room and the other leading to the side entrance and back hallway. An exterior door in the north corner of the west wall exits to a separate laundry building. Single windows on the north and south walls provide much-needed cross ventilation. (See Appendix One, "First Floor.")

There was probably little significant difference between the kitchen of the Morris and Butler occupancies. The architectural clues are virtually the only surviving evidence about the kitchen during the historic periods of the house. Because these architectural considerations are typical of Victorian kitchens, treatments and furnishings can be speculated. White and yellow were the most popular paint colors for walls with painted wooden floors. Certainly a cookstove was in place during the

occupancies of both families. The chimney built into the west wall dictates the historic placement of the stove. An ice box, dry sink, chairs, dresser, and at least two tables, one for preparation and one for serving, were common kitchen furnishings. A rocking chair was also probable.⁴⁴

Objects, again, must be speculated. Because of the utilitarian function of the room, these objects are easy enough to predict: pots, crocks, and utensils, as well as a clock to time the cooking and miscellaneous gadgets for preparation of food. A hanging lamp would provide central light with additional illumination from wall fixtures and moveable lamps.⁴⁵

Families of seven and nine respectively, would have made the Morris and Butler kitchens a labor-intensive spot. Butler family papers indicate a great many meals were served for friends and acquaintances. The elegance of the Morris dining room, as depicted in its architecture and stencilled ceilings, suggests the same was true for the earlier period of the house. Food for the families and their guests had to be processed and prepared, menus planned, and dinnerware readied.⁴⁶

Today, the Morris-Butler House provides a good representation of a kitchen from the period 1850 to 1870. Furnishings and objects are utilitarian and functional.

Green roller shades grace the windows with cotton eyelet curtains covering the bottom half. Wainscoting is found covering the bottom third of the wall. The wide floor boards are now shown in their unfinished wood state. Natural wood floors were not a popular floor treatment: a painted floor is much more plausible. The color of the painted walls is also questionable. Now a light olive green, walls of white or yellow were much more common.⁴⁷

The remaining physical and documentary evidence suggests that the women of the Morris and Butler families differed little from other middle-class Victorian women in their attempts to provide a protected and healthy domestic realm. If the physical traces and family remembrances can be taken as reliable indicators, Martha Morris and Anne Butler attempted to communicate, and fulfill, their dictated roles through the appearance and function of the household interior at 1204 Park Avenue. In the main, the dictated and ritualized roles of Victorian women are evident in the interiors of the Morris-Butler House Museum.

CHAPTER FOUR ENDNOTES

1. Interview, Barbara Milligan with Tiffany Hatfield Sallee, Administrator, Morris-Butler House Museum. Hereafter cited as Sallee, MBHM.
2. Photographs, archives, MBHM; Indianapolis Star, 27 November 1927, "Noble C. Butler, Ex-Clerk of U.S. Court Tells Experiences Dating from Early Life."
3. Interview, Sallee, MBHM; Downing, Country Houses, p. 39; Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, p. 132. Downing and Winkler and Moss discuss decorating styles.
4. Refer to the discussion of gas lighting, page 35.
5. "Visite Register," Libby Vinton Pierce, Pierce-Krull Collection, ISL, Manuscripts Division, Box 1; Green, Light, p. 95.
6. 1958 Photograph of Hall, MBHM.
7. Letter, Hine to Weir, 11 August 1985, archives, MBHM; manuscript, Hine "Mr. Lincoln," archives, MBHM.

8. Photographs, archives, MBHM; receipt, Japanese Furniture Mfg. Co., 29 January 1889, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 49 Folder 7; receipt, Eastman, Schleicher and Lee, 27 November 1893, Butler Collection, ISL, Box 2 Folder 1.

9. Pierce "Visite Register," Pierce-Krull Collection, ISL, Manuscripts Division, Box 1; Calling cards of Annie and Noble Butler are in the collection of the MBHM.

10. Kershner, Social and Cultural, p. 30.

11. Sallee, MBHM, provided information about what paint treatments had been restored by Historic Landmarks Foundation.

12. See parlor discussion, pp. 44 - 52.

13. *ibid.*

14. 1958 Photographs, archives, MBHM; letters, Hine to Weir, 1 July 1988, 11 August 1985, 8 August 1985, archives, MBHM. It is Hine who remembers the "uncomfortable gilt chairs" and "fancy ceiling."

15. NCB to Theodore Starr, 20 July 1889 to 29 July 1889, Letterbook, pp. 86 - 93, Butler Papers, IHS; NCB to Conklin, 30 October 1890, 17 November 1890, and 2 December 1890, NCB letterbook, Butler Papers, IHS. See also pp. 123-125 for complete references to Butler purchases.

16. 1958 Photographs, archives, MBHM; receipt, Spiegel and Thoms, Butler Papers, IHS, Box 49, Folder 9.

17. See parlor discussion, pp. 44-52; Garrett, At Home, pp. 39 - 40.

18. Collection Records, MBHM; Garrett, At Home, pp. 140-162.

19. Garrett, At Home, pp. 59-60.

20. See page 76, note number 56.

21. Author's personal observation.

22. Interview, Sallee, MBHM. See the discussion of Morris hall and parlor treatments on pp. 141, 142, 149, 150.

23. See pp. 52-57.

24. Photograph, archives, MBHM; see pp. 36-40. Mary Risk Hine recalls the date that Noble Butler took over the parlor as a library in her letter to Weir, 8 August 1985.

25. Interview, Sallee, MBHM. The placement of the original bedroom door is evident in looking at a plan of the second floor, as on p. 180.

26. Author's personal observation.

27. Collection records, MBHM; author's personal observation.

28. Collection records, MBHM; author's personal observation.

29. Garrett, At Home, pp. 76-77.

30. See pp. 56-57; Garrett, At Home, pp. 62, 63, 72; Motz and Brown, Making, pp. 50, 51.

31. Letter, Hine to Weir, 9 August 1987, archives, MBHM.
32. Author's personal observation; interview, Sallee, MBHM.
33. Interview, Sallee, MBHM.
34. Garrett, At Home, pp. 85-86.
35. Winkler and Moss, Victorian Interior, pp. 137, 90, 84, 58, 157.
36. See pp. 63-64; Logan, Home, pp. 2-4.
37. Noble C. Butler letterbook, 13 July 1889, 27 June 1890, 19 August 1889, Butler Papers, IHS; Hine to Weir, 8 August 1985, 9 August 1987, MBHM.
38. 1958 Photographs, archives, MBHM. The photographs taken after the death of Florence Butler show a great deal of china, silver, and other fine items in the dining room; Noble C. Butler letterbook, 13 July 1889, 27 June 1890, 19 August 1889, Butler Papers, IHS.

39. Letter, Hine to Weir, 9 August 1987, archives, MBHM.
In this letter Mrs. Hine tells Mr. Weir of dining experiences at 1204 Park Avenue as explained to her by her mother, Brownie Butler.

40. *ibid.*

41. 1958 Photographs, archives, MBHM.

42. Letter, Hine to Weir, 9 August 1987, archives, MBHM.

43. Collection Records, MBHM.

44. See the discussion of kitchens, pp. 65-71.

45. *ibid.*

46. Numerous food bills can be found in the Butler Papers, IHS. See, for example, Box 49; letter, Hine to Weir, 9 August 1987, archives, MBHM. Grocery statements left by the Butlers show that marketing occurred almost daily. A grocery store on the corner of Fort Wayne and St. Mary Avenues seems to have been most favored by the Butler family.

CONCLUSION

The discussion provided in Chapters One and Two outlines the relationship that existed between middle-class Victorian women and domestic interiors: a relationship that provided for the reflection and communication of women's roles in decorative treatments, objects, and furnishings. The physical image of domestic interiors reflected not only the ideals of a rapidly changing society but also the contradictions. The selection, creation, and display of interior decorations allowed women to communicate visually their worth in a newly transformed society that was threatening to strip them of value. At the same time, the decoration of interiors provided the scenes and props necessary to ritualize Victorian women's roles. By following the decorative and architectural advice of prescriptive literature, women helped to cement and perpetuate dictated patterns of female behavior. In providing for appropriate ornamentation, women themselves became the ornament: a decoration in their home, communicating calculated symbolic messages.

The women of the Morris and Butler families left behind nothing to contradict the notion that they attempted to fulfill their prescribed roles. Physical, visual, and documentary evidence suggests that the Morris

and Butler women, like other middle-class women, made both conscious and unconscious decorating decisions that silently reinforced their meaning as women. The interior of 1204 Park Avenue indicates that from its first occupancy through 1890 the house contained the props and scenery necessary for the Morris and Butler women to participate in the ceremonies that ritualized their intended roles.

There are several ways that the information contained in this paper might be used by the Morris-Butler House Museum. Certainly, previously unknown information about the family can be incorporated into the standard tour, so as to relate the story more directly to the families that lived in the house. A special event or exhibition might be staged on Victorian women, using this information to script an appropriate tour. Other historic sites in Indianapolis could be invited to join in a celebration of women -- perhaps in conjunction with Mother's Day. A publication of some type could accompany the exhibition; at the least a brochure could be prepared focusing on Victorian women and providing a selected bibliography for further reading.

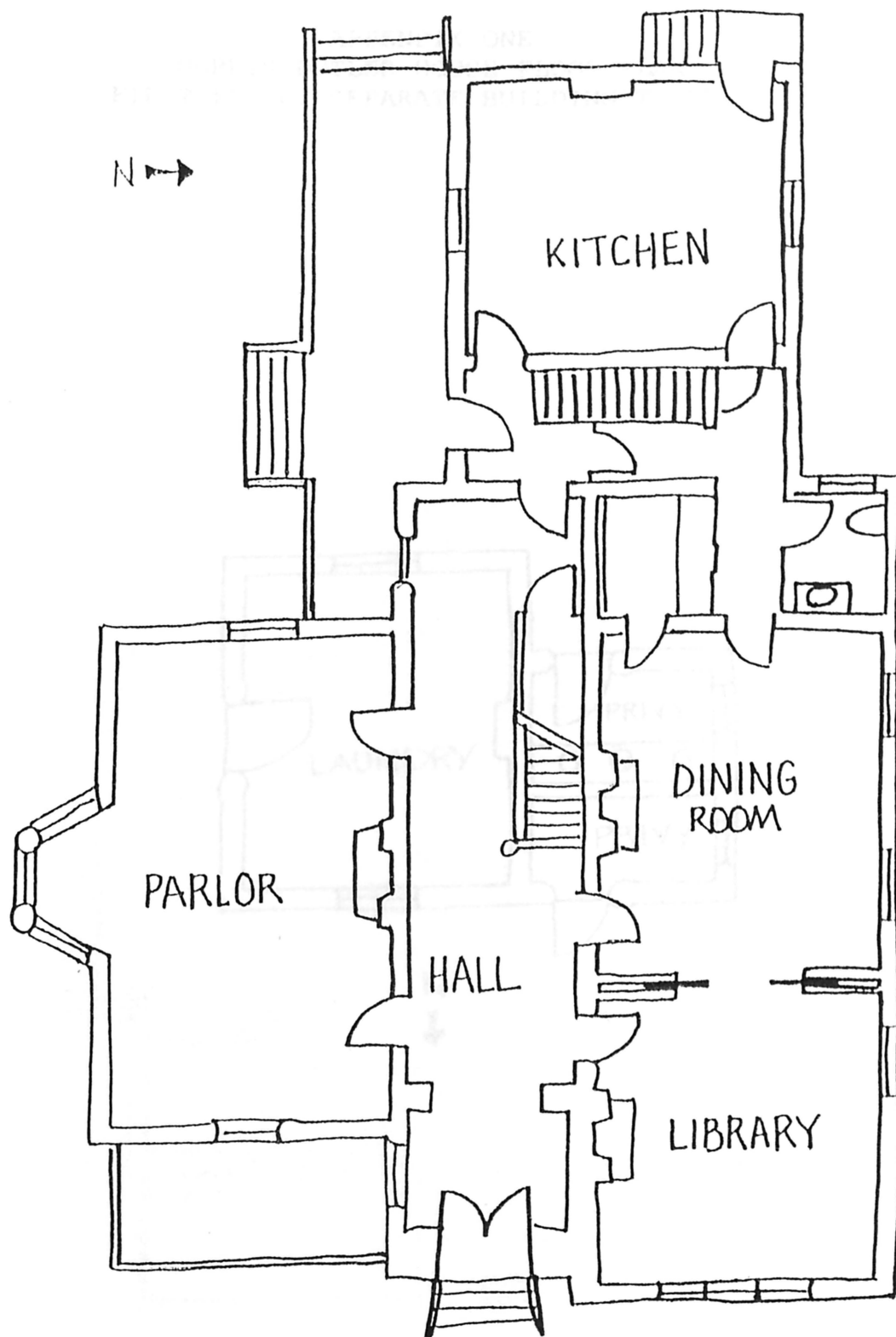
The development of a walking tour might be possible for the Old Northside neighborhood. Focusing specifically on women, the tour could highlight

individual Indianapolis women, Victorian women in general, women's activities in Indianapolis, and the effect of the "Cult of Domesticity" on Victorian building styles and housing floor plans.

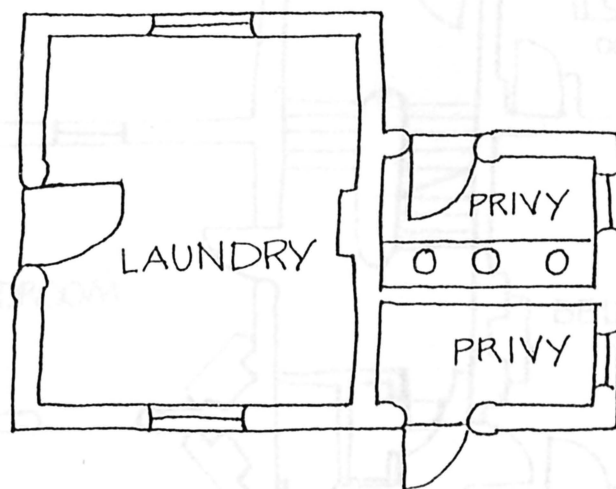
Finally, should the time ever come that the museum wants to "recreate" the interiors of the Morris or Butler occupancy, this document could be used as a departure point to lead further research. Written and photographic evidence now known has been investigated thoroughly. Although an attempt was made to contact family members, no new information, objects, or documents came to light. This attempt, however, was cursory and these family connections bear further investigation for the benefit of the museum -- and should be pursued sooner, rather than later.



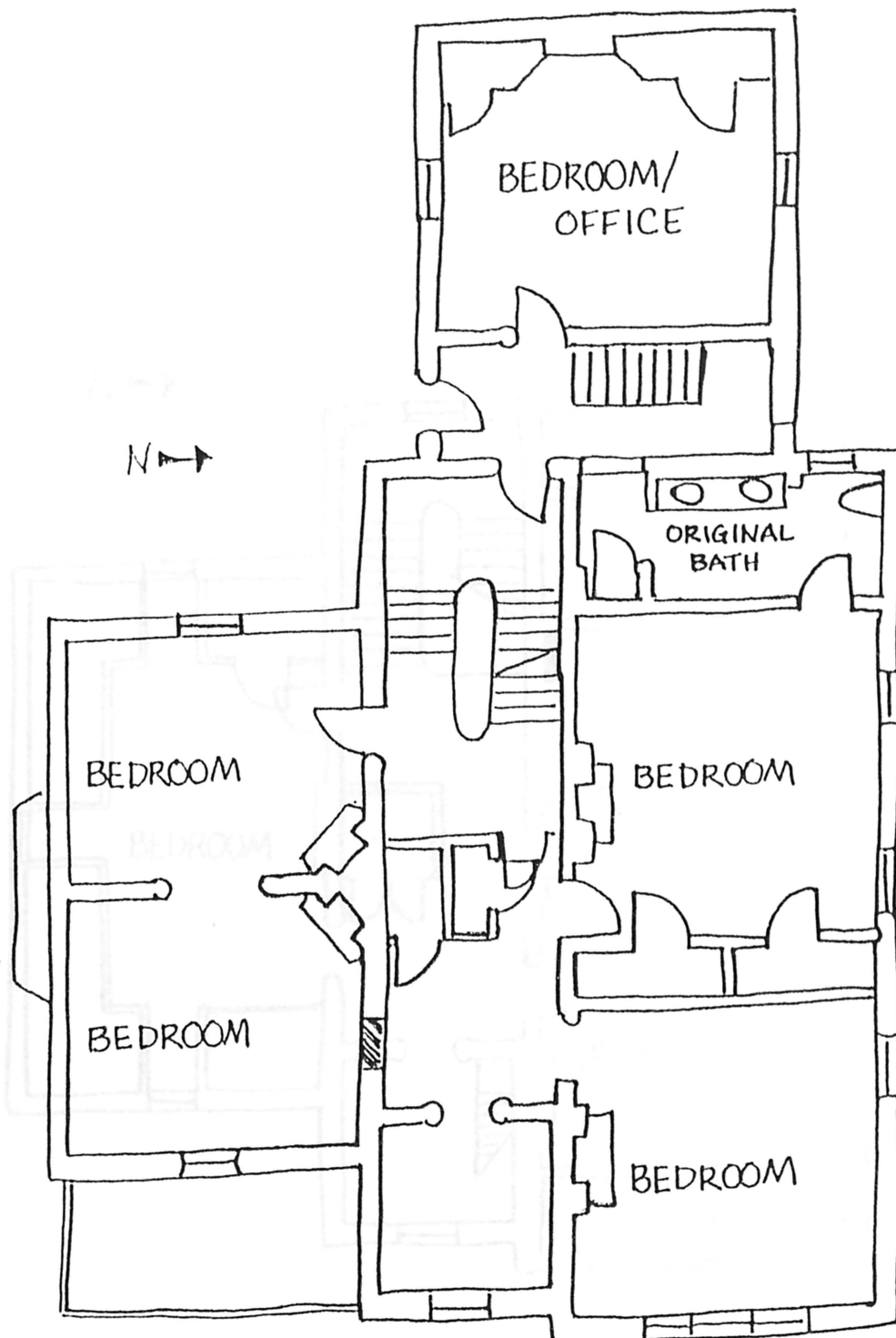
APPENDIX ONE
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE FLOOR PLAN
FIRST FLOOR



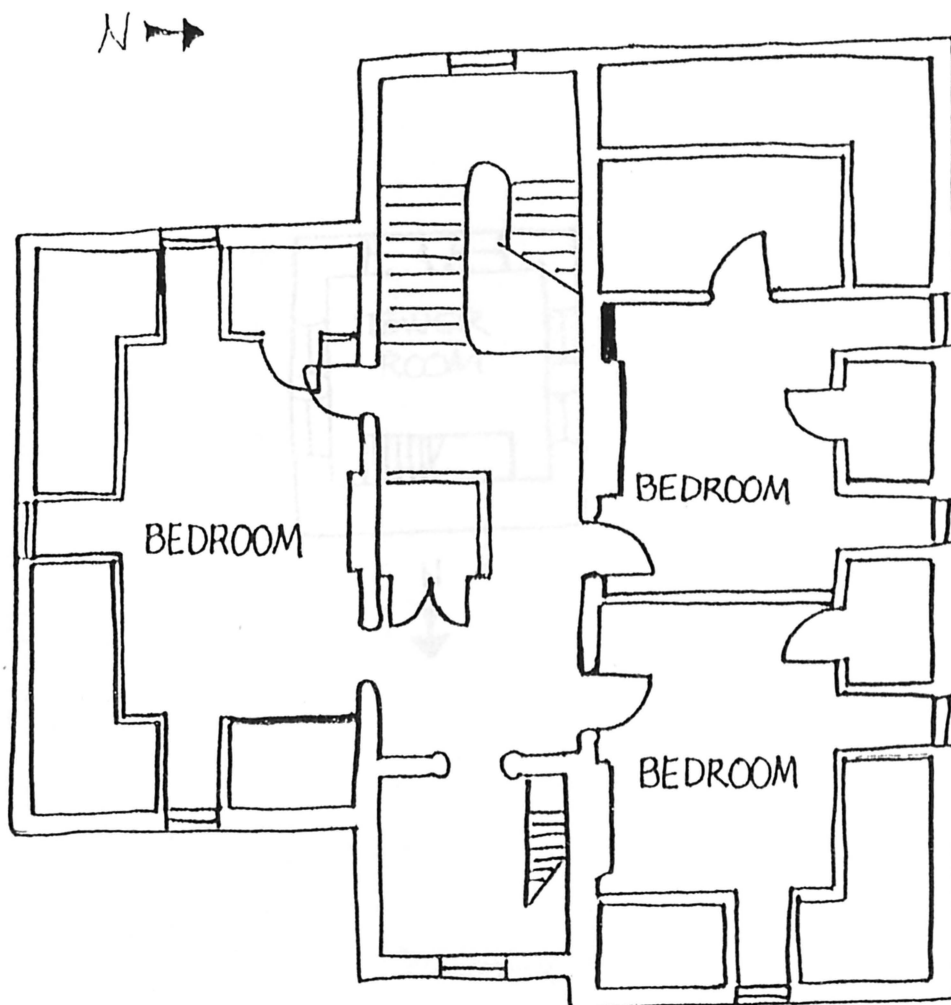
APPENDIX ONE
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE FLOOR PLAN
FIRST FLOOR, SEPARATE BUILDING TO REAR



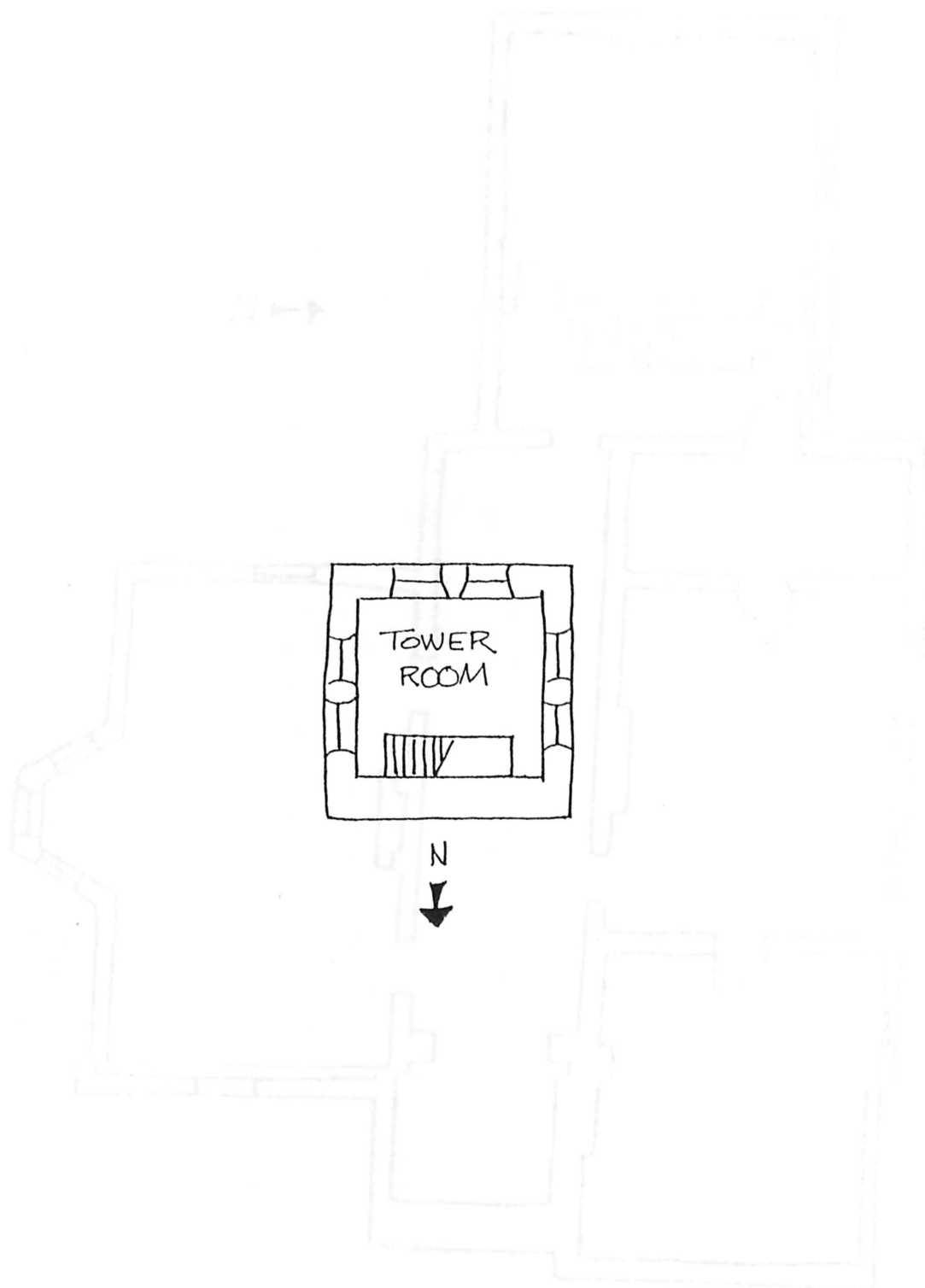
APPENDIX ONE
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE FLOOR PLAN
SECOND FLOOR



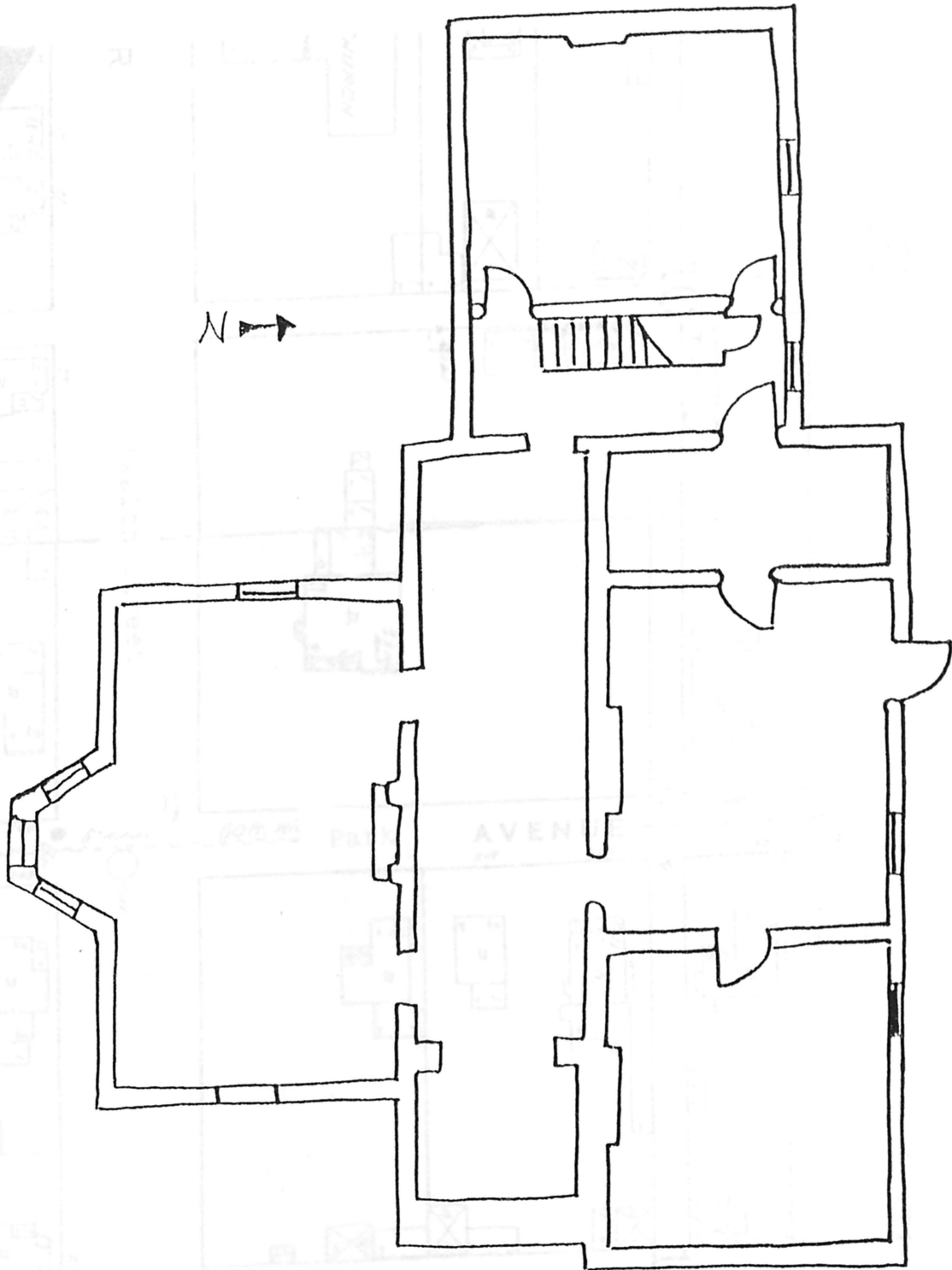
APPENDIX ONE
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE FLOOR PLAN
THIRD FLOOR



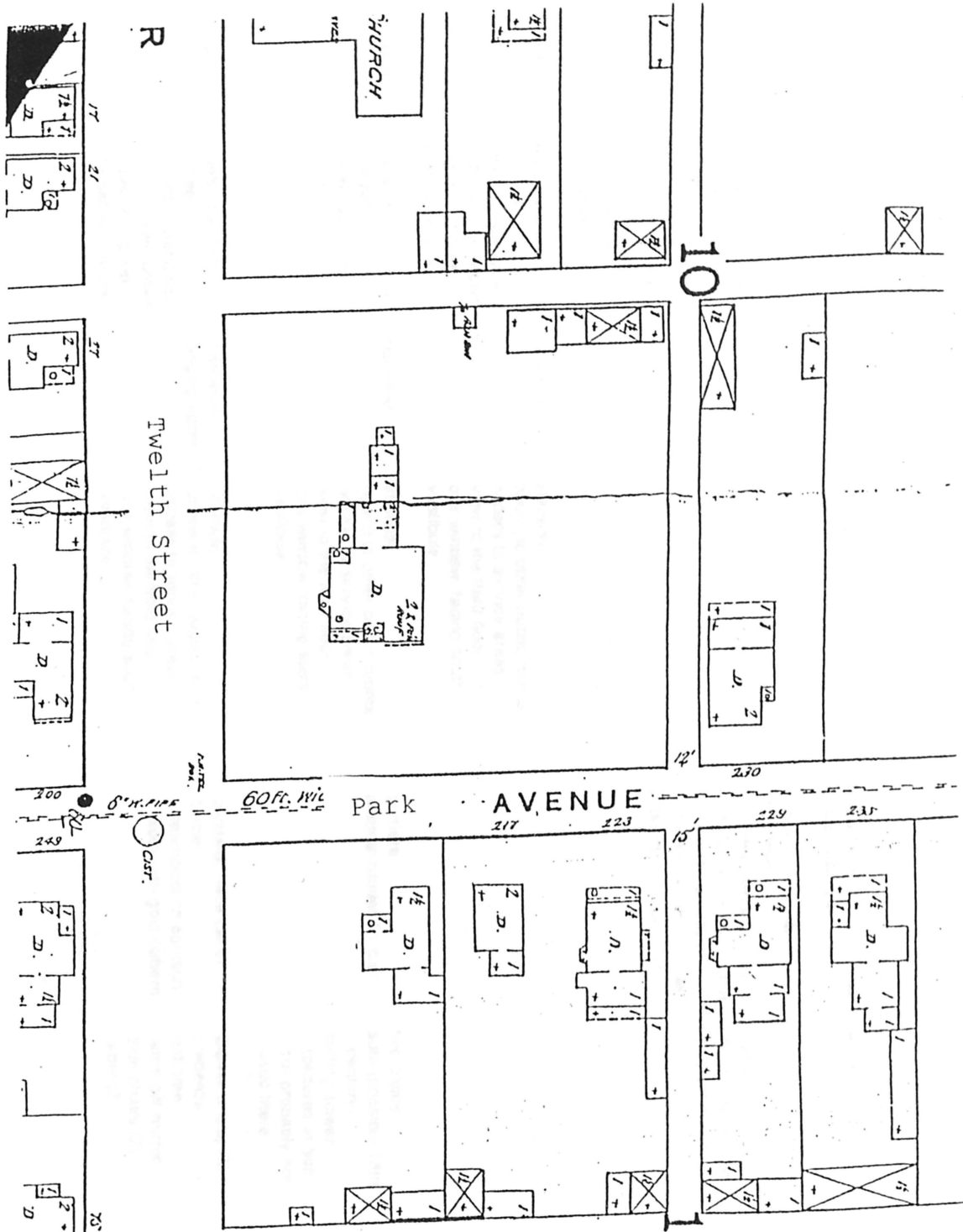
APPENDIX ONE
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE FLOOR PLAN
TOWER ROOM



APPENDIX ONE
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE FLOOR PLAN
BASEMENT FLOOR



APPENDIX ONE
1887 SANBORN MAP DETAIL



APPENDIX TWO
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE ROOM SCHEDULE
HALL

Room: HALL

italicized words = inferred or assumed

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>FINISHES</u>	<u>FIXTURES</u>	<u>ARCHITECTURAL /DESIGN ELEMENTS</u>	<u>WINDOW/FLOOR/DOOR TREATMENTS</u>	<u>FURNITURE</u>
<u>Typical</u>	colors: cool, sober, to enhance other rooms more vibrant after 1880 paint or wallpaper grained woodwork tripartite division after 1870s decorative ceilings	chandelier wall sconces	stairway opens to other public rooms access to back service areas	window treatments vary but often fabric shades floor treatments could be encaustic tile or oil cloth, or velvet, tapestry, or venetian wool carpet grass mats in summer	hall tree table seating: bench, settee, or straight chairs
<u>Morris</u>	walls: painted olive green ceilings: stencilled in crimson, brown, gold and green grained woodwork	<i>chandelier</i>	stairway opens to other public rooms access to service areas view to the third floor one window, facing south vestibule		
<u>Butler</u>	walls: combination of patterned wallpaper and dark paint	<i>chandelier</i>	stairway opens to other public rooms access to service areas view to the third floor one window, facing south vestibule	portiere oriental runner on stair	two chairs sofa (possibly 18th century) folding screen (pictured in hall but probably not used there)
<u>Current</u>	walls: painted olive green ceilings: stencilled in crimson, brown, gold and green grained woodwork	chandelier hanging lights (2)	stairway opens to other public rooms access to service areas view to the third floor one window, facing south vestibule	curtains: lace panel carpet: reproduction crimson wool with gold pattern	Gothic chairs (3) credenza hall tree large gilt mirror side chairs (2) table (2)

APPENDIX TWO
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE ROOM SCHEDULE
PARLOR

Room: PARLOR

italicized words = inferred or assumed

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>FINISHES</u>	<u>FIXTURES</u>	<u>ARCHITECTURAL /DESIGN ELEMENTS</u>	<u>WINDOW/FLOOR/DOOR TREATMENTS</u>	<u>FURNITURE</u>
<u>Typical</u>	colors: cheerful, green, red, crimson painted grained woodwork	chandelier wall sconces	located to the front of the house adjacent to the hall fireplace bay window	draperies: elaborate, shade or shutter, lambrequin or valance, lace undercurtain, heavy floor-length over drapes portieres after 1870 carpet: wool, patterned	parlor suite: four to six upholst. chairs, sofa, center table cabinet or etagere furniture often of Rococo styling prior to 1870 piano
<u>Morris</u>	painted walls: crimson ceiling: plasterwork cornice and ceiling with center medallion	<i>chandelier</i>	largest room in the house fireplace two entries bay window two additional windows located to the front of house, adjacent to hall		
<u>Butler</u>	ceiling: plaster cornice and ceiling with center medallion wallpaper shown in a post-1890 photo	wall sconces	largest room in the house fireplace two entries bay window two additional windows located to the front of house, adjacent to hall	"carpet" hardwood floor installed after 1890	<i>piano</i> "uncomfortable gilt chairs" <i>rocking chair</i>
<u>Current</u>	painted walls: crimson ceiling: plasterwork cornice and ceiling with center medallion ceiling, painted white	chandelier	largest room in the house fireplace/mantle two entries bay window two additional windows located to the front of house, adjacent to hall	curtains: interior shutters, lace panels, valance, bloused satin over- drapes carpet: wool, maroon rose clusters on a cream ground	side chairs (11) sofa mendiennes (2) etagere table, paper mache piano and stool center table, Renais. table, French child's chair table, pedestal sewing table (2)

APPENDIX TWO
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE ROOM SCHEDULE
FAMILY PARLOR

Room: FAMILY PARLOR

italicized words = inferred or assumed

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>FINISHES</u>	<u>FIXTURES</u>	<u>ARCHITECTURAL / DESIGN ELEMENTS</u>	<u>WINDOW/FLOOR/DOOR TREATMENTS</u>	<u>FURNITURE</u>
<u>Typical</u>	grave, quiet colors: deep purples, greens, blues, red	hanging lamp	fireplace rear of the house, behind formal parlor fireplace	portieres layered curtains but simpler than formal parlor	bookcases writing desk sofa rocker chairs center table
<u>Morris</u>		<i>hanging lamp</i>	opens to hall located at the front of the house fireplace two windows: one to north and a triple window to the east pocket doors cornice moldings		
<u>Butler</u>		<i>hanging lamp</i>	opens to hall located at the front of the house fireplace two windows: one to north and a triple window to the east pocket doors cornice moldings	oriental rugs lace curtain panels area carpeting (may be later)	assorted chairs piano
<u>Current</u>	grained woodwork painted walls: olive green	chandelier astral lamp lamps (2)	opens to hall located at the front of the house fireplace two windows: one to north and a triple window to the east pocket doors cornice moldings marbelized, cast iron fireplace surround	curtains: crimson velvet draperies over sheers with valance carpet: reproduction crimson with gold pattern, same as hall	bookcase (Louis XV) five Rococo chairs footstool triple-arch sofa drop-leaf table pedestal table Empire dining table? rococo table

APPENDIX TWO
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE ROOM SCHEDULE
DINING ROOM

Room: DINING ROOM

italicized words = inferred or assumed

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>FINISHES</u>	<u>FIXTURES</u>	<u>ARCHITECTURAL /DESIGN ELEMENTS</u>	<u>WINDOW/FLOOR/DOOR TREATMENTS</u>	<u>FURNITURE</u>
<u>Typical</u>	rich colors; blue, red, green, yellow tripartite wall treatments grained or painted woodwork	chandelier	located on the north secluded, often overlooks garden fireplace adjacent to pantry adjacent to kitchen	Brussels or Ingrain carpet drugget used under table until around 1870 no wall-to-wall carpeting, to facilitate cleaning elaborate curtains: gilded cornices, lambrequins, sheers, outer-drapes portieres	dining table chairs sideboard serving table(s)
<u>Morris</u>	stencilled ceilings: gray, crimson, gold & olive	<i>chandelier</i>	located on the north secluded, overlooks garden fireplace adjacent to pantry adjacent to kitchen		Empire sideboard <i>dining table</i> <i>and chairs</i>
<u>Butler</u>	wallpaper above, paint on bottom third (dark)	<i>chandelier</i>	located on the north secluded, overlooks garden fireplace adjacent to pantry adjacent to kitchen	hardwood with scattered oriental rugs	<i>dining table</i> <i>and chairs</i>
<u>Current</u>	grained woodwork olive green walls stencilled ceilings: gray, crimson, gold & olive	<i>chandelier</i>	located on the north secluded, overlooks garden fireplace adjacent to pantry adjacent to kitchen	gilded cornices heavy olive green drapes over lace panels reproduction cream carpet with circular leaf motif	dining table eight chairs sideboard serving tables (2)

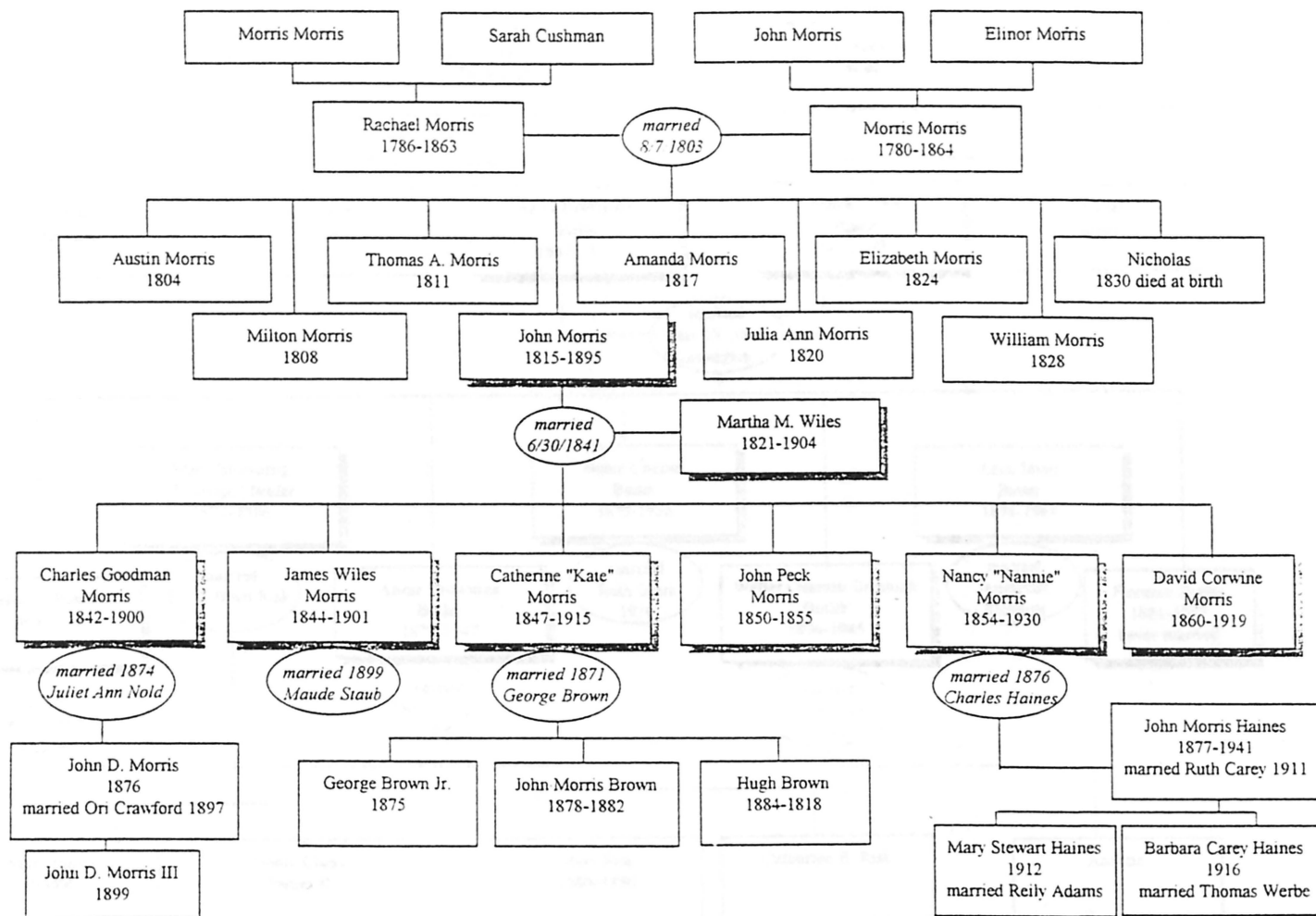
APPENDIX TWO
MORRIS-BUTLER HOUSE ROOM SCHEDULE
KITCHEN

Room: KITCHEN

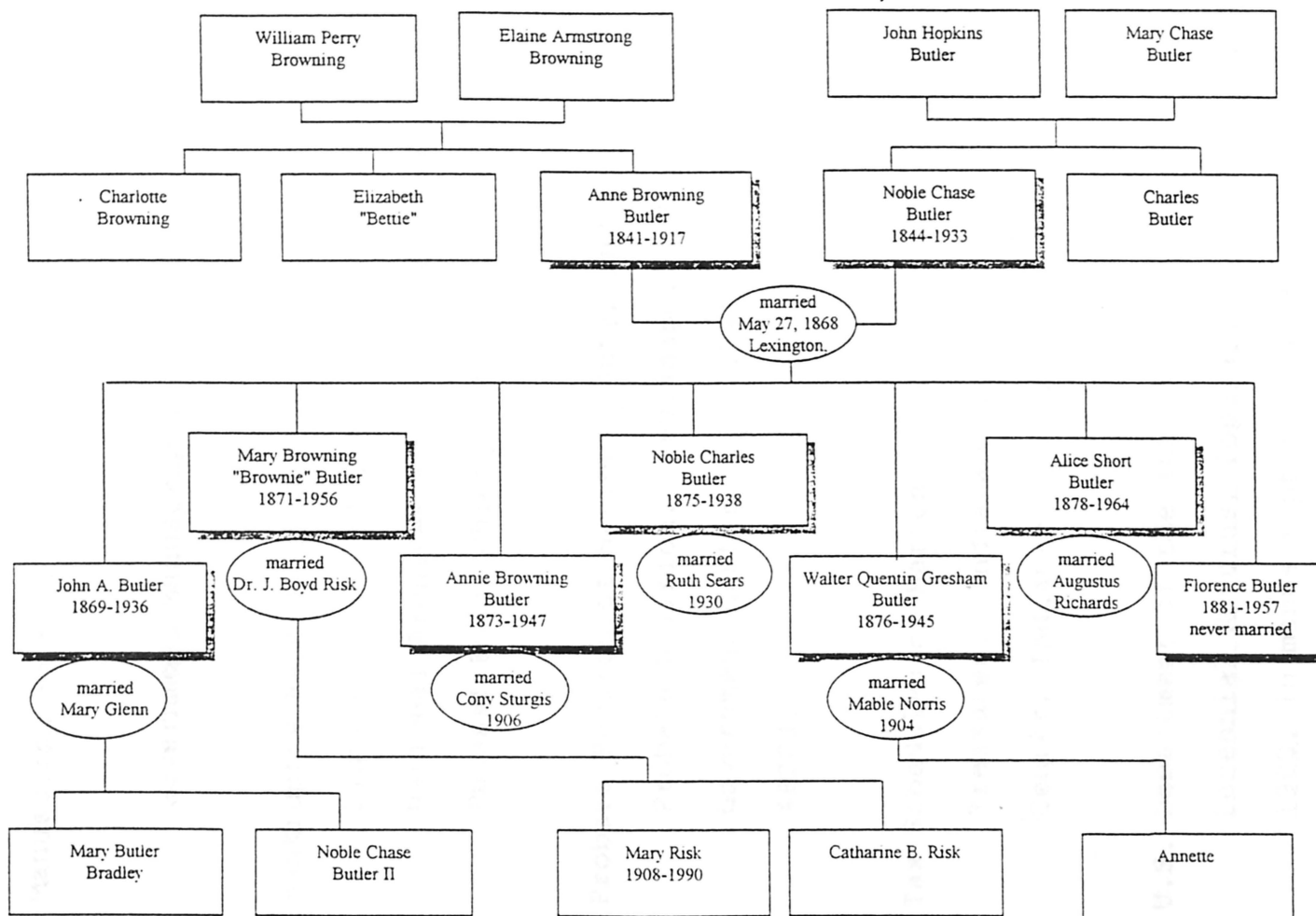
italicized words = inferred or assumed

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>FINISHES</u>	<u>FIXTURES</u>	<u>ARCHITECTURAL /DESIGN ELEMENTS</u>	<u>WINDOW/FLOOR TREATMENTS</u>	<u>FURNITURE</u>
<u>Typical</u>	painted walls: yellow or white	hanging lamp wall lamps	location at back of house has back entrance cross ventilation good natural light easy access to fuel, water, pantry chimney for stove	painted floor or oil cloth functional curtains: often muslin half curtains that cover bottom of window, or roller blinds of paper or fabric	stove ice box dry sink preparation table serving table wood chairs dresser rocking chair
<u>Morris</u>		hanging lamp	location at back of house back entrance cross ventilation good natural light easy access to fuel, water, pantry chimney for stove		stove
<u>Butler</u>		hanging lamp	location at back of house back entrance cross ventilation good natural light easy access to fuel, water, pantry chimney for stove		stove
<u>Current</u>	painted walls: light green painted woodwork: brown	double-lamp wall fixtures (2) hanging light	same as above	half curtains, white cotton wood floor, natural	cupboard with dry sink dry sink wood box youth chair stove chairs (4) rocking chair preparation table serving table china cupboard

Morris Family



Butler Family



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